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Without Concealment----Without Compromise.

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Selections.

From the Northern Star.

PROCEEDINGS OF A MEETING OF MEMBERS OF THE STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON THE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE.

At a meeting of the following persons, William Rich, James Henderson, of Troy; John Wendell, of Schenectady; Francis Lippins, of Utica; William H. Topp, R. Thompson, S. C. Morton, of Albany; members of the State Central Committee, held at the house of Richard Thompson, February 27, 1846, Mr. Rich was called to the chair, and William H. Topp appointed Secretary.

The object of the meeting being stated by the Chair, the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That we recommend to colored voters to give votes for those only who are in favor of extending to us equal liberties as men and citizens.

Resolved, That we recommend to the colored people of this State, to hold meetings in their respective towns or counties, for the purpose of giving a full expression of their desires in regard to the elective franchise.

Resolved, That we feel called upon in this struggle for liberty, to make a long and strong pull, by urging the people in every town and county in the State, to use their utmost efforts to get men elected to the Convention that will use their influence in behalf of our oppressed and disfranchised people.

Resolved, That on behalf of the disfranchised colored people of this State, we ask every patriot, philanthropist, and Christian, of whatever party or sect, by their love of country, humanity, and religion, to lay aside party preferences and boundaries, in their choice of representatives to the Convention, and elect such men, who, standing upon the broad platform of equal justice, and equal rights, will exert their influence and talents to wipe from the escutcheon of our State that stain of odious and tyrannical distinction, which prohibits a large portion of the people of the State from equal political privileges.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to issue an address to Gerrit Smith, and other, leaders of the Liberty party, urging them to use their influence in electing such men to the State Convention as are friends to free suffrage, without regard to the Liberty, Whig, or Democratic party.

The Chair appointed C. S. Morton, William H. Topp, and R. Thompson, such committee.

Resolved, That the proceedings and address be published in the Northern Star, and other papers.

Adjourned.

TO GERRIT SMITH, Esq. AND OTHER LEADERS OF THE LIBERTY PARTY.

GENTLEMEN:—We are induced to select and address you, apart from the mass of our fellow-citizens, upon a subject of deep interest to ourselves and the people whom we represent. From a consideration of the high and honorable position which you have hitherto occupied in regard to the emancipation of our enslaved brethren at the South, your repeated expressions of sympathy with the nominally free colored population at the North, and also because some of the leaders of your party have given publicity to sentiments and intentions in relation to their choice of delegates to the Convention for revising the Constitution of the State, which we consider as antipodes to our moral and intellectual advancement, inimical to our prosperity, and directly opposed to our release from an unjust an odious distinction in regard to our use of the elective franchise.

You must be aware from the efforts which we have unceasingly put forth during the last twenty-five years, for the removal of that oppressive and anti-democratic clause in the Constitution of our State, which prohibits our voting on equal terms with other citizens, that we consider this a matter of vast importance. The time, however, has arrived, and we rejoice with fear and trembling, when this subject is brought home to every man's conscience, and the people are called to determine the great question between equal political rights, and cruel and unjust distinctions. This is a subject that appeals to your sense of right and wrong, of conscious responsibility and consistency, and divested of its fig-leaf covering, (that is of the color of the skin,) and based upon the immutable principles of justice, which principles you affirm to be the rule of your conduct, we call upon you to meet in an open, manly, generous and Christian-like manner. This is not, as some erroneously suppose, a question between the white and colored citizens of the State, but a conflict of rights; the right of the majority to violate or take away the rights of the minority; a war between the spirit of Slavery and the genius of emancipation. This being the state of the case, we need not remind you that the prominent and responsible position which you occupy, as the opponents of Slavery and oppression, demands a continuation of demonstrations of your firm and determined opposition and hatred to Slavery in every form, whether it is found at the South, depriving your fellow-men of valuable and inviolable rights—or at the North, dishonoring your State, crushing the rising spirit of manhood in the bosom of your fellow-citizens, and despotically robbing them of the safeguard of liberty.

We have hitherto refrained from asking your aid from an expectation arising almost to a certainty, that prompted by a sense of duty as our professed friends, and the dictates of justice, humanity, and the religion which many of you profess, you would have encouraged us still to hope while you cast your votes, and the weight of your influence, to rescue us from political bondage; but judge of our surprise, pain, and disappointment, when we found Gerrit Smith, so long known and regarded as the dauntless apostle of liberty, the advocate of the bleeding, manacled slave, the black man's defender and friend, the philanthropist and Christian, abandoning the poor and needy in an hour so propitious to their cause, so replete with good or evil consequences to themselves and their posterity. Still we are not without hope that he may yet see the great injustice which he is committing upon himself; that his course may do us an irreparable injury; that he is strengthening the hands of our oppressors, and indirectly oppressing us himself.

What think you, Gentlemen, the world would say, should we fail in obtaining the end of our desires, and it should be found that we failed because our abolition friends withheld their votes from us.

How could you bear its scorching rebuke and the eternal stigma which such a course of action would entail upon you. Remember, you are narrowly watched, and the eyes of men, in all parts of the country, are upon you. We do not ask the abandonment of principle for our benefit, but we ask you to come up to the standard of Liberty; and if you cannot emancipate three millions of slaves at the South, help to emancipate forty thousand citizens of your own State. Nor do we ask the dissolution of your party, but that instead of making nominations, which cannot possibly benefit either you or us, you will give your votes and use your influence to elect such men as pledge themselves, if elected, to use their influence against disfranchising us longer. This we think is not asking too much of friends, nor is it asking more of avowed ones than we have already asked of both Democrats and Whigs. Certainly it would not be unnatural should we conclude that he who "is not for us is against us." We ask you to look at this subject in the same light that we have often heard Mr. Smith, in the deep emotion of his soul, and with burning eloquence, ask others to look upon the subject of Slavery, in the light of eternal truth and justice.

Think not that we are over anxious, or think we set too high a value upon the ballot-box. You can imagine its worth to yourselves—can you not faintly conceive of its worth to us. True, we are colored men, but have not colored men eyes, hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? Are we not fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer as yourselves? If then, we are like you in those things, remember the golden rule, and vote for us, that we may become like you in others.

With consideration of esteem,
We remain, yours, &c.
CHARLES S. MORTON,
WILLIAM H. TOPP,
RICHARD THOMPSON,
WILLIAM RICH,
JAMES HENDERSON,
JOHN WENDELL,
FRANCIS LIPPINS.

ALBANY, February 27, 1846.

ANOTHER SLAVER CAUGHT.

In addition to the bark Pons, the official account of whose capture we this day publish, says the Washington Union, we learn that another American vessel, supposed to be engaged in this infamous traffic, has been sent into the port of Charleston, South Carolina, for adjudication. This vessel is named the Panther; and is said to have sailed from Providence, Rhode Island, to Rio Janeiro, and thence, as usual with ships so employed, to the coast of Africa. It is stated that she had made arrangements to receive on board 1,500 slaves! We hope to publish the official account of her capture by the United States ship Yorktown, in a few days.

UNITED STATES SHIP YORKTOWN,
Kabinda, (Africa,) Dec. 16, 1845.

SIR:—I have the honor to inform you that I addressed a letter to you on the 30th ultimo, giving an account of the capture of the American bark Pons, of Philadelphia, with eight hundred and ninety-six slaves on board, a duplicate of which I now enclose. I was so anxious to despatch the vessel in the shortest time for Liberia, in order to land the slaves, and relieve them from their miserable confinement, that it was not in my power to give you a more particular account of this vessel. I will now endeavor to do so, and also state some facts which have since come to my knowledge.

The Pons, under the command of James Berry was at anchor at Kabinda for about twenty days before she took on board slaves, during which time she was closely watched by her Britannic Majesty's brig Cygnet, Commander Layton. At about nine o'clock, on the morning of the 27th of November, the Cygnet got under way and stood to sea. Immediately Berry gave up the ship to Gallano, who commenced getting on board the water, provisions, and slaves, and so expeditious were they in their movements, that at eight o'clock that evening the vessel was under way, having embarked nine hundred and three slaves. Instead of standing directly to sea, she kept in with the coast during the night. At daylight they were off Kacongo, about twenty-five miles to the north of Kabinda, when they discovered the Cygnet in the offing. They immediately furled all their sails and drifted so near the shore, that the negroes lined the beach, in hope of a shipwreck. They continued in this situation until meridian, when finding they had not been discovered, they set their lower sails, in order to clear the shore, and, as the Cygnet drew off from the land, they afterwards set their more lofty ones. Two days afterwards we captured her. Her crew consisted of Spaniards, Portuguese, Brazilians, and some from other countries, and although continuing under the American flag, with probably American papers, not one American on board.

As I could not despatch her the evening of her capture, she kept company with us that night. The next morning I regretted to learn that eighteen had died, and one jumped overboard. So many dying in so short a time, was accounted for by the captain in the necessity he had of thrusting below all who were on deck and closing the hatches, when he first fell in with us, in order to escape detection.

The vessel had no slave-deck, and upwards of eight hundred and fifty were piled, almost in bulk, on the water casks below; these were males; about forty or fifty females were confined in one-half of the round-house cabin, on deck; the other half of the cabin remains for the use of the officers. As the ship appeared to be less than three hundred and fifty tons, it seemed impossible that one-half could have lived to cross the Atlantic. About two hundred filled the spar-deck alone, when they were permitted to come up from below, and yet the captain assured me that it was his intention to have taken four hundred more on board, if he could have spared the time.

The stench from below was so great that it was impossible to stand more than a few moments near the hatchways. Our men, who went below from curiosity, were forced up sick in a few minutes; then all the hatches were off. What must have been the sufferings of these poor wretches when the hatches were closed? I am informed, that very often, in these cases, the stronger will strangle the weaker; and this was probably the reason why so many died, or rather were found dead, the morning after the capture. None but an eye-witness can form a conception of the horrors these poor creatures must endure in their transit across the ocean.

I regret to say that most of this misery is produced by our own countrymen; they furnish the means of conveyance, in spite of existing enactments; and although there are strong circumstances against Berry, the late master of the "Pons," sufficient to induce me to detain him, if I should meet him, yet I fear neither he nor his employers can be reached by our present laws. He will, no doubt, make it appear that the "Pons" was beyond his control when the slaves were brought on board. Yet, from the testimony of the men who came over from Rio as passengers, there is no doubt the whole affair was arranged at Rio, between Berry and Gallano, before the ship sailed. These men state that the first place they anchored was at Onin, near the river Lagos, in the Bight of Benin; here they discharged a portion of their cargo, and received on board a number of hogsheads or pipes filled with water. These were stowed on the ground tier, and a tier of casks containing spirits were placed over them. They were then informed that the vessel was going to Kabinda, for a load of slaves.

On their arrival at the latter place, the spirit was kept on board until a few days before Berry gave up the command, covering up the water casks, in order to elude the suspicion of any cruiser. For twenty days did Berry wait in the roadstead of Kabinda, protected by the flag of his country, yet closely watched by a foreign man-of-war, who was certain of his intention; but the instant that that cruiser is compelled to withdraw for a few hours, he springs at the opportunity of enriching himself and owners, and disgracing the flag which had protected him.

As we are short-handed, I have shipped those men, much to their gratification, who came out as passengers in the Pons from Rio to Kabinda, in order that their testimony may be taken, should Berry be in the United States on our return, and committed for trial. I have landed the balance of the prize crew here, with the exception of one, who died of coast fever a few days after he came on board this ship.

I have the honor to be, Sir, with much respect, your obedient servant,

CHARLES H. BELL, Commander.

To the HON. GEORGE BANCROFT, Secretary of the Navy of the United States, Washington City.

From the Express.

THE CASE OF A SLAVE IN ALABAMA.

HAYNESVILLE, LOWNDS Co. Ala.
March 3d, 1846.

In your weekly paper of the 20th ultimo, to which I am a subscriber, I find the following paragraph:

Horace King, a slave, has by special enactment of the Legislature of Alabama, been emancipated; the owner remonstrating on the ground of his high value. Such is the tale that is going the rounds of the press. It is duly left to be inferred, by this statement, that it is constitutional, in Alabama, to pass acts liberating a citizen's slave, *ad libitum*. If that State have power, by a simple act of legislation, to do this, then abolition of Slavery by the Government, in one State at least, is perfectly practicable. But is the fact so?"

The fact, Messrs. Editors, is not so. Such action by the Legislature, is expressly inhibited, by constitutional provision. Consequently, the "tale which has been going the rounds of the press," that Horace was emancipated, *his owner remonstrating*, is untrue. I was a member of the Legislature, and voted for his emancipation; his owner earnestly petitioned for it, and stated that he desired it, because Horace was a man of great honesty of character, and had long performed for him, faithful and meritorious services. Notwithstanding this, it was with difficulty the bill could be passed, as it permitted him to reside in the State, after his emancipation. This was considered a bad precedent. But without this privilege, I was informed, Horace would have refused the proffered boon. He said he had rather live a slave in Alabama, than a freeman in any non-slaveholding State.

Please give the above a place in your paper, or contradict the "tale that is going the rounds of the press," and oblige Yours, &c.

THOMAS J. JUDGE.

From the Western (Syracuse) State Journal.

FREE SUFFRAGE.

The slaveholders of the South are calling lustily upon their New-York allies, to withhold the right of suffrage from the colored citizens of the State, at the approaching Convention. The following paragraph, from the Washington Union, Mr. Polk's organ, discloses the views and fears of those who assume to be our task-masters:

Let our friends in New-York be admonished in time, against the advances of the new political element which, no matter how dormant it may have been before, is ever ready to strike a blow at the principles and perpetuity of Democracy. Let them not forget that at a late negro or abolition Convention in New-York, it was proposed to the negroes of that great State to endeavor to secure the legal amount of property to entitle them to a vote for delegates to the Convention, so that they might be placed upon an equality hereafter with the whites. Once give the blacks the right to vote, and New-York becomes a federal State: there is no denying *that*. They are numerous enough in that State to control the elections, and their sympathies are all with the Whigs.

We do not know by what warrant Mr. Polk's organ presumes to interfere in the domestic affairs of this State. It would argue a more respectful deference toward the people of the State of New-York, to leave them to the management of their own affairs. Still we can well imagine that the slave holders of the South are watching the progress of events in the North with fear and trembling. The free suffrage movement in New-York threatens the very existence of Slavery. Its success will give a shock to the "peculiar institution" that will be felt to its inmost core. It is in the power of the people of this State to inflict this wound. If they falter now, the South may repose in safety for the next twenty-five years; for such another opportunity to "extend the area of freedom" will not soon occur.

From the True American.

LOOK OUT!

A correspondent of the New Orleans Commercial Bulletin, writes that journal from Petersburg, Virginia, in the following strain:—

PETERSBURG, Virginia, Feb. 8, 1846.

DEAR SIR:—"Disguise it as we may," no man can enter the Old Dominion, journeying from north to south, without being painfully impressed with the signs of impoverishment and deterioration which strike him on every hand. They are seen in the fields, the horses, the houses, the men. Fields have been abandoned to woods, and having been first exhausted by a course of tillage which eternally robbed without restoring anything to the soil, the bushy pine has succeeded to the sturdy oak, and game of all sorts are coming to roam in their pristine haunts. Even the *beaver* has been lately killed in the neighborhood of Petersburgh, where not a mercantile house exists that was in business fifteen years ago. On the eminent heights that overlook the entire city stand the ruins of one of the oldest anti-revolutionary churches to be found in all America. Alas! the dome that once echoed the voice of inspired preachers, and reverberated the sounds of sacred music, is now the congenial habitation of the bird of night: not a window nor a door of it remains.

And "disguise it as we may," Slavery is the cause of this dilapidation and decay. There is no reason but this, why Virginia with her climate, soil, and resources, should not be as prosperous as Massachusetts. It is the great drawback to her growth.

There are but few conditions of life in which Slavery pays for itself. It is always and everywhere, taking a series of years, unprofitable. Agriculture is the only kind of employment in which it can be applied, and that in the very rudest manner. What do we hear of, all over the South, but complaints of exhaustion of the soil? What do we see there but dilapidation and emigration? Masters are not brought up as agriculturists; their thoughts are directed into other channels, and centred upon other objects: they live to figure in society, not to work; to be men noted in public life, not to direct labor. There is, therefore, as a general rule among them, none of that intelligence—that foresight—that perseverance which distinguishes the life, and gives success to the industry of the Northern farmer. The slaves being drudges, and only doing what they are bid to do, and their masters being ignorant of the steps necessary to improve and keep up land, it is not wonderful that whole regions of the old slave States should be marked by sterility and decay.

The idea prevails, that in hot climates and with a rich soil, Slavery is profitable. But this is not so. The history of Jamaica before the abolition of Slavery and of the Slave-Trade, with an entire monopoly of the British markets, large bounties, and drawbacks of duty, on surplus produce shipped to foreign ports, proves it to be false. A report submitted to the House of Assembly, 1792, on the sugar-trade, states the startling facts, that, "*in the course of twenty years, one hundred and seventy-seven estates in Jamaica, have been sold for the payment of debt; fifty-five estates have been thrown up; and ninety-nine are still in the hands of creditors.*" And a return of the Provost Marshal shows, that, "80,121 executions, amounting to £22,563,786 sterling, had been lodged in his office in the course of twenty years." In 1805, the report of the same body says, "*A faithful detail would have the appearance of a frightful caricature.*" In 1807, sixty-five estates were abandoned, thirty-two sold under decree of chancery, and one hundred and fifteen more awaiting decrees. And these sad details continue to be given, until it became obvious, "that the great and permanent cause of distress, which almost every page of the West India history records, is to be found IN THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY."

But independent of this consideration as to what Slavery may do on a rich soil, and in a hot climate, it must exhaust the earth, and in the end ruin every State which tolerates it. No wealth of soil can sustain its ruinous culture, and hence barren wastes mark large portions of the old slave States, and will soon cause the depopulation of the comparatively new. Travel over the Carolinas, and where are to be witnessed the stir, and activity, and bustle—the flourishing villages—increasing towns and cities—and above all, that look of permanence, and of real progress, which greets the eye wherever it may turn in the State of Connecticut? Come up into Virginia and Kentucky, and with larger resources, how illy do they compare in every respect with the State of Massachusetts? In the slave States the stamp of Slavery bears with it the stamp of decay. In the free States mind and energy are embodied with gigantic force, and allied with industry, turn everything to account as a living trophy of the power of man.

Why, then, conceal these results? Why seek to uphold a system so ruinous to our progress, and so subversive of individual or State growth? Let us look out, and see our true condition with our own eyes, and unheeding the cry of croakers, or the threats of fanatics, or the madness of perpetualists, take hold, in earnest, of the monster evil, and, like men, hurl it from us, that the desolate places may be made glad, the heart of man cheered, and the whole State made thereby to bound forward, as Ohio is bounding forward, with the full prosperity, which unframmeled freedom ever secures. Grant us the boon—take away servile labor—let *Kentucky* be free—and in our day, should we live to the ordinary life of man, we, and all like us, would see her an honored rival, if not a compeer, of the greatest among her sister States of the West.

TEXAS AND OREGON.

We make the following extracts from an excellent speech of Mr. Culver, of New-York, on the Texas and Oregon questions, delivered in the House of Representatives, United States, January 30th, 1846, for a copy of which we are indebted to that gentleman:

The bill from the Senate "*To establish Post-Routes in Texas,*" being under consideration—Mr. Culver said:

Mr. Chairman: I am one of those who believe that the annexation of Texas to this Union was unconstitutional, and, as such, is void from the beginning. I believe, further, that the Supreme Court of the United States, on a proper presentment of the case, will pronounce the joint resolutions, by which Texas was annexed, unconstitutional. And I hold that every act of ours, affirming the validity of those resolutions, will but involve us in deeper difficulty, and render our relations with that country more embarrassing. I am aware that it may seem to be travelling from the record, on a bill merely to establish post-routes, to discuss the question of Annexation; but we are now in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and the Chair has, again and again, decided that, whatever related to the welfare and honor of the Union, was here the legitimate subject of debate. Besides, Mr. Chairman, I remember, as do all who hear me, that, when the consummation of this Texas scheme came up, on the second week of the session, one hundred new members, like myself, were denied the right of being heard. This great measure, fraught with consequences the most important and lasting, was lashed through this House with more than railroad velocity. The padlock was put upon our lips; by aid of the "previous question," we were all gagged down. Our constituents, too, were denied a hearing. They protested loud and earnestly against this infraction of the Constitution. Their remonstrances, so long as the least ground for hope remained, poured in thick and fast. Yes, Sir, 40,000 of these remonstrances now lie upon your table, denied a consideration, and refused the civility even of a reference! In addition to all this, Sir, my constituents, nay, the whole free North, are to be taxed to sustain these very mail routes over the trackless wilds of Texas. They are now contributing to support an army of 4,500 sickly men in that country, to fight her battles. A fleet is now sustained from the treasury of the nation, to scour the coasts, and to awe Mexico to silence. Am I not warranted, then, Sir, in seizing *this* opportunity, since every other has been denied me, to enter my solemn protest against this nefarious scheme? Had the remonstrances of my constituents been treated with legislative courtesy, or had even two days' discussion been allowed, I would not have been found here upon my feet to-day. Why, Sir, six long weeks have been consumed upon the Oregon question, and yet one hour and forty minutes, and that mostly in calling the *yeas* and *nays*, were all that was allowed upon the admission of Texas. Wherefore the difference? Ah! Sir, Texas had within it that dark feature, that dreaded inspection, that *nolo me tangere* property, that cried out "hands off!" when approached. Oregon has no SLAVERY with it. Texas, on the other hand, owes its existence and its very life-blood to Slavery.

But I hear it whispered, by gentlemen around me, that "Texas is in"—"She is admitted"—"We have married her, and cannot dissolve the contract." Sir, I repudiate the marriage. I disclaim the nuptial bonds. I have high authority for saying of Texas, "If, while her first husband be living, she be married to another, she shall be called an adulteress." We had no constitutional right to propose, nor she the right to accept our proposal.

But, Mr. Chairman, first and foremost of my objections to her admission is, that Texas has violated her own ante-nuptial engagement. To this I ask the attention of the House. By the joint resolutions of last winter, Congress gave its consent to annexation, upon the *express* condition, among others, that, in that part of Texas lying north of 36° 30' north latitude, *Slavery, or involuntary servitude, (except for crime,) should be prohibited.*" Now, Sir, how stands the case? Has this political coquette adhered to this condition? No, Sir. Most shamefully has she violated it. In her new Constitution, now lying before me, and on which we have given her admittance into the Union, by the 8th article, Slavery is not only recognized and sanctioned throughout the *whole* extent of Texas, but her Legislature is constitutionally tied up from ever "passing laws for the emancipation of slaves without the consent of their owners." This recognition and prohibition are coextensive with the boundaries of the *entire* State. No exception, either north or south of that line! Under this 8th article, 1,500 slaves might be removed to-morrow into Northern Texas, despite the joint resolutions of the last Congress. Is this the way, Sir, in which Northern gentlemen, whose votes for the measure were secured by this pretended compromise, are to be rewarded? Is this the way in which Slavery discharges its obligations, and fulfils conditions? Do gentlemen tell me there is no territory of any amount or value north of that line? Then, Sir, I pronounce the fraud, the cheat, the duplicity, the more downright and glaring. We were told of compromise—of dividing Texas into free and slave territory. A few in the North were sufficiently *green* and *soft-faced* to be caught by this cry. Without this pittance, small as it was, Annexation could not have been carried. If there were nothing in that of worth, we were deceived *then;* if there were something, we have been despoiled of it *now*. And should new States hereafter be carved out of the present State of Texas, and those new States, any of them extending north of that line, be asked to prohibit Slavery there, they would point to the admission of Texas as a *whole*, with a slaveholding Constitution, covering her *entire* surface, from north to south, from east to west. Both the mother State of Texas and the United States would be, by this reference, estopped from insisting on any territory being free north of that line.

Am I too *late*, then, Mr. Chairman, in opposing the admission of Texas, when she herself has violated her own agreement? When she herself refused to come in upon the terms and on the conditions which Congress prescribed for her?

Now, Sir, with this slaveholding feature in her Constitution, it is easy to see why the motion made by my honorable friend from Massachusetts, (Mr. Rockwell,) to recommit the bill, with instructions to strike out that provision allowing Slavery, was so adroitly evaded. That motion, Sir, would have brought the elastic consciences of Northern men to a test. It would have compelled gentlemen to have recorded their votes directly upon the issue of admitting Texas as a free or slave State. And subservient as politicians had shown themselves, I apprehend that gentlemen shrunk back from standing upon the record as voting in favor of perpetual Slavery in Texas. Hence it was, that the "previous question" was clothed with more than its wonted odium and oppression. And when the honorable Speaker, in conformity with parliamentary usage and the decisions of this House, decided that the motion of the gentleman from Massachusetts was not cut off by the previous question, an appeal was taken, and Slavery, Sir, was strong enough on this floor to reverse the decision of the Chair, and overturn the precedents of this House. I was not so much astonished at it, knowing, as I did, that extraordinary cases require extraordinary treatment. It was to have been expected of Slavery. And the House will bear me witness how much of confusion and trouble that decision has occasioned us since.

* * * * * *

I need not say to you, Mr. Chairman, nor to the House, how sorely the North feel upon this question. We speak it more in sorrow than in recrimination, when we say, that the Constitution lies trodden in the dust. The slaveholder's heel is planted upon it. And what adds to the darkness of the deed, is the base and unwarrantable *motive* which dictated this whole scheme of Annexation. That motive, Sir, was the strengthening, the extension, and the perpetuity of SLAVERY. And on this, Sir, I have a few words to offer.

[Mr. Bayly, of Virginia, here objected, and raised the question, that it was not in order to debate this subject. But the Chair overruled the objection, and decided that Mr. C. was in order, and he proceeded.]

In support of this position, my time will allow me to call the attention of the House only to a few admitted facts. No murmuring of complaint, or threats of revolt, were heard in the province of Texas, till after Mexico, by the edict of *Iturbide*, in 1829, proclaimed Slavery abolished. From that time forward, a low but gradually increased muttering was heard from that portion of the population who had gone from the Southern States into Texas, carrying their slaves with them. This dissatisfaction gradually ripened into rebellion; and in 1833 a convention was called, and the discontented portion set up for themselves. Impartial history will yet prove that revolution to have been as destitute of any adequate provocation, as the annals of revolution ever furnished.

These Texan revolutionists, of course, had the open sympathy, as well as the covert support, of almost the entire slaveholding South. It was evinced in the speeches and correspondence of Southern men, and in the almost undivided expression of the Southern press. From 1830 to 1835, the press was undisguised in claiming, that Slavery must be reinstated in Texas, for its future stability in the Southern part of this Union. I have but to refer gentlemen to the tone of the press at that day, to establish the fact, that Slavery was at the bottom of this whole movement. So much, Sir, for the revolution and independence of Texas—as to the *motive* that dictated its annexation, I have proof which *Southern* gentlemen cannot resist. Mr. Secretary Upshur, in his official despatch to our Charge d'Affaires in Texas, in 1843, declared, that "Slavery would be abolished in Texas within the next ten years, and probably within half that time, unless that Government were annexed to the United States." A distinguished Senator from South Carolina, (Mr. McDuffie,) not two years since, in the north wing of this Capitol, when alluding to the dangers of the increase of the slave population, said, "Now, if we shall annex Texas, it will operate as a safety-valve, to let off this superabundant slave population among us." Mr. Calhoun, who, with all his political eccentricities, has the merit of speaking his sentiments boldly, has placed the true reason for Annexation on record. When Secretary of State, in a diplomatic communication of the 27th April, 1844, defending the policy, and urging the necessity for Annexation, he says: "It was made necessary in order to preserve *domestic institutions*, placed under the guarantee of their respective constitutions, and deemed essential to their safety and prosperity." "Domestic institutions" are only another and a politer name for Slavery. Here, Sir, stands the recorded reason for Annexation—the upholding and preservation of a foul system of human bondage!—And this historical reason, uttered by the official organ of this great and free republic, will stand upon record, and be pointed at with shame and remorse, when all the aiders and abettors in this scheme shall have passed away.

But why do I multiply authorities, or dwell upon points conceded by every honest man? Sir, there is not a Southern Representative who hears me, that will rise in his place and deny that Slavery was the great, prompting, and decisive cause for annexing Texas. No, Sir, the act and the motive stand out in bold relief before the world. To rivet the chains of the enslaved African more firmly—to render his bondage safe and perpetual, a foreign slave territory, four times the size of New England, seven times as large as Kentucky, is seized, and, in defiance of law and Constitution, attached to this Union! And for what? Yes, Sir, I ask Southern gentlemen, for what purpose did you annex it? Avow it honestly. Was it not that you might overbalance the free laborers of the North? That you might hold the reins of legislation in your hands? That you might have the preponderance of power to wield it over us, as you wield it over your slaves? Do you wonder, then, that Northern freemen, or their representatives here, are keenly alive to this insult? How would *you* feel under a like injury? Mr. Chairman, let me put a case to my honorable friends from Virginia and South Carolina.

Suppose that, in 1836, Mr. Webster, of New England, Gov. Seward, of New-York, and my venerable friend from Massachusetts, (John Quincy Adams,) had entered into a secret correspondence with the authorities of Canada, proposing to annex all British North America to the United States. And suppose that, in the correspondence, it had been distinctly avowed, that the object was to give stability and perpetuity to the protective tariff—to render safe the free institutions of the North—to protect them from assaults of the South—to render more safe and secure the runaway slaves settled in Upper Canada—in short, to give, by the aid of Canadian votes, a Northern preponderance in the Senate of the United States—what think you, Mr. Chairman, would have been the tone, the feeling, the sentiment of the South? Think you that their great chieftain would have preached his "*masterly inactivity*" doctrine? But suppose, further, that the South began to rustle and be alarmed—began to remonstrate, long and loud—begged time for discussion and reflection—and suppose a drilled, iron-heeled majority refused to hear their protests, or listen to their remonstrances—told them to be quiet—that they knew not what they were remonstrating against—that it was a *Northern* question—related to the welfare of Northern interests—that it belonged to Northern men to settle it—and, at last, despite the protests of Southern Legislatures, and, unmoved by a million of Southern remonstrances, the deed is consummated, *Canada is annexed!* And to add insult to injury, it is done by thrusting the *gag* down Southern throats; and soon after this, the South are called upon to help support armies and navies in Lower Canada, and taxed to pay for post routes for the benefit of fugitive slaves in Upper Canada! Sir, the parallel is a painful one—I do not wonder that cheeks crimson at the comparison. I ask Southern gentlemen, how would *you* have met such treatment at the hands of the North? Would you not have winced under it? Would not your hot blood have risen far above its wonted temperature? Nay, more, I ask you, would not every man of you have rushed wildly from this Hall, and proclaimed the Union at an end? Would you not have gone home and told your constituents to get ready their "regiments of mounted riflemen," and resist the aggression unto death? Yes, you would have done so; and posterity would have awarded you deserved praise for your sternness of integrity and boldness of resistance. Then let me ask you, in the name of liberty, and all that is dear to freemen, how, think you, *we* stand under *your* treatment? Are we not made of flesh and blood as well as you? Do you draw so largely upon Northern coolness and "Christian forbearance?" Beware, lest you are over confident of the *restraining* force of these "Christian virtues." True, Sir, the North is a very cool, calculating people. Feeling that justice and equity are on our side, we prefer peaceful remedies. Our forbearance is proverbial. We can submit to be trampled upon, and rise again. We can be fleeced of our rights with heroic fortitude. Nay, more, we can be genteely *skinned;* but let me assure Southern gentlemen, that when you attempt to sprinkle in fine salt and pepper, we beg leave respectfully to flounce. I might allude now, Sir, to a coming event, the shade of which has already passed before us, *the destruction of the tariff* of 1842, which, it is well understood here, is delayed only to wait the arrival of the delegates from Texas. It is the subject of remark, in the confidential circles of the dominant party, that these Texan votes are relied on, in one wing of this Capitol, to complete that work. Yes, Sir, the cool forbearing North is asked to look philosophically on, and see these Texas votes aiding in demolishing that PROTECTIVE POLICY which has covered our land with prosperity—which has caused our valleys to resound with the hum of industry, and dotted our streams with factories and forges. Yes, Sir, the fate of that system is sealed, and these new-made votes from Texas are to be its executioners.

But, Mr. Chairman, I will be just to the South; candor and truth demand that Southern men should not be charged, as the only participants in this transaction. No, Sir, the North, (and I say it with deep humiliation of my local pride,) the North has been the slaveholders' criminal ally. We found in our midst, in 1844, some political Esaus, who, for a mess of pottage, were willing to sell the birthright of freedom; and I am sorry to add, that my own State was a guilty participant in the deed. True, a majority of her people spoke against it; but their speaking was ill-directed and inefficient, and their voice was lost in the confusion of the battle. New-York may now carry with submissiveness the burden which she has imposed upon herself. It is meet she should bow her neck and kiss the rod by which she is smitten. Let her draw from her purse and pay her share of three hundred thousand dollars annually to transport the mail in Texas. Let her contribute her share of *two millions*, for an army and navy to defend her; a *million* more, to erect fortifications around her frontiers; nay, more, let New-York get ready to help assume and pay up the *entire debt* of Texas. And wherefore all this sacrifice for that Texan band of patriots? O, Sir, it is for the very laudable end of propping up the tottering fabric of Slavery. Patriotic motive—commendable object, truly! Yes, Mr. Chairman, I would hint to my Democratic colleagues from New-York to be prepared with a fair story; and, when our common constituency inquire of us, "wherefore all this bleeding and taxing for Texas?" What equivalent does she give us in return? Point them to the ruined tariff, the reinstated Subtreasury, the squandered avails of the public lands, and to a disgraceful war upon our shoulders; and no doubt, Sir, our people will be satisfied with the equivalent!

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Sir, Texas was a new article, interpolated in the Democratic creed at Baltimore. Up to that time it had not been made a test of a man's Democracy. I appeal to my Democratic colleagues, who always dance submissively to the tune of modern Democracy, to say if, when Mr. Van Buren's letter of the 20th of April, came out, followed by the patriotic endorsement of the Globe, they were not responded to by the great mass of the party. A loud political "Amen" was uttered through the ranks; "Mr. Van Buren is right;" "That is the true ground." And yet—can you believe it, Mr. Chairman?—one month and ten days from that time the orders were countermanded. Slavery cried out, "Presto," "Change," "Right about face;" and, with all the subserviency of Swiss troops, the *pretty-faced* regiments of the North wheeled and countermarched. The Globe was hustled out; the Argus ate its own words; and Van Buren, the great chief of the party, had his head brought to the block. True, he remonstrated, he entreated, he pointed to his pledged vote—to his Northern head with Southern heart—to his long course of tried *servility;* but all in vain. He staggered at Texas; this was his death-warrant; one blow, and his head is cleft asunder. Poor Van Buren! he has'nt last met his deserts. But I wonder, in my very heart, how my Democratic colleagues can sleep at night. I should suppose that the spirit of their murdered chief would haunt their bedsides. How dare they rest, "while Scipio's ghost walks unavenged among them?"

But, Mr. Chairman, "honor to whom honor is due." I will do no injustice to my colleagues. They surely shall have credit where it is deserved. I said, just now, that Texas was a *new test* of Democracy. It is a *new idol-image*, set up for party adoration; and, as in the case of Nebuchadnezzar's image, *three* were found who refused to bow down and worship, so it gives me the sincerest pleasure to know that three of my colleagues, (Messrs. King, Wood, and Wheaton,) refused to bow the knee to Texas. Their votes were put upon record; and there are some indications that the party furnace is being heated into which to cast them. But sure am I that, if their integrity is adhered to, they will, like the three of old, come out without the smell of fire about them. Sir, I trust that my colleagues will not deem my allusion unkind, for I assure them I make it in great sincerity, feeling as I do for them a "brotherly affection" for this act. Indeed, I felt that I could forgive them a score of political sins, when I witnessed their independence on the final vote for the admission of Texas. I know it is said that "the people have passed upon the issue;" but I deny it. That issue was not presented fairly and nakedly to the electors in 1844. It was artfully evaded in the North. Political men there dared not hazard their interests on that issue. Indeed, recent demonstrations even in New Hampshire—the Switzerland of modern Democracy—furnish evidence that even the Granite State repudiates the embraces of Texas. One of her own sons spurned the collar of party, and on this floor registered his protest, and, despite the anathemas of slaveholders, stood firmly for freedom and his country; and thrice has his State recorded her approval of his positions, not only in three consecutive elections, but through that pile of remonstrances presented by the venerable gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Adams,) which lie unopened upon your table. Well, Sir, if such is the result in New Hampshire, what might we not have expected from any of the other free States, had the naked issue been presented?

But Texas is annexed—nay, she is admitted as a State, with her war, her debt, and her Slavery; and what result legitimately follows? I might ask, with more propriety, what result would have followed, had Mexico, the plundered party, been able to avenge her insults? There is not a gentleman on this floor who would have dared to push this annexation scheme to completion, had Great Britain been the party claiming the province of Texas. Yes, Sir, had Great Britain been that claimant, and we had done by her as we have done by Mexico, our cities would ere this have been reduced to ashes, our ports blockaded, and our streets drenched in blood. Are we so base and cowardly, then, that what we would not dare to do to the "mistress of the seas," we are not

making for the favors shown her? Her acts are recorded; they cannot be mistaken.

Look, Sir, at the right of petition in this House. Where is it? What power has stricken it down? Freemen hold this right as inalienable—as one given by God and guaranteed by the Constitution of the country. Slavery has decreed that it may be exercised on some subjects, but denied on others; and I stand here to-day to protest against the insult offered to my constituents. I had the honor, on the first week of the session, to present a memorial, signed by some 2,000 of them, respectful in language, and asking the attention of Congress to a legitimate subject, over which Congress has exclusive jurisdiction. The signers were not confined to the "Third party," so called, but of all parties—by some of the most respectable and intelligent in my district. How was it treated? Denied a reference or consideration—consigned, unopened, to your table, there to take its long repose. On whose motion? On that of a *Southern* gentleman, [Mr. Bayly, of Virginia.] And, to show the *even*-handed justice and *im*partiality of the House, I had hardly taken my seat before a gentleman from South Carolina, on my left, (Mr. Sims,) rose and presented the proceedings of an anti-tariff meeting in his State, denouncing, in strong language, the protective policy of the country, claiming, (I use the words of the petitioners,) that they "desired to take off the fetters from home industry." Sir, when *that* was presented, how was it disposed of? Did you see some eight or ten Northern gentlemen, having charge of the *table* department, jumping upon their feet, and moving to lay it on the table? Far from it, Sir. It was respectfully received, referred to a standing committee of this House, has since been considered attentively, and, in due time, will be reported on. Wherefore this odious and arbitrary discrimination? Are the gentleman's constituents better than mine? Are they, because of their loud thunder and ominous threats, to be commended to favor here over the unobtrusive Quakers from my district? All the difference that I could perceive in the two cases was, that the gentleman's memorial asked Congress to take the fetters off home *labor*, and mine to take them off home *laborers*. The one was an abstraction worthy of South Carolina optics; the other a practical matter, worthy of the common sense of Yankees.

Gentlemen complain that the anti-slavery sentiment of the North is endangering their cherished institutions. Who, Sir, is responsible for that anti-slavery feeling? Slaveholders may thank themselves for its rapid increase these few past years. The alarming strides of Slavery in the country—the deeds it has caused to be perpetrated on this floor and elsewhere—have not been among the remote causes of increased hostility to its existence. I could allude to scenes fresh in the recollection of gentlemen. How long, Mr. Chairman, since an honorable member of this House, (Mr. Giddings, of Ohio,) for the exercise of a constitutional right, and the discharge of what he deemed an honest duty, was arraigned, condemned at your bar, and virtually expelled from this hall? But did you conquer him, or crush the cause? No. He returned to his high-minded constituents, and told them of the ignominy heaped upon them and him. They honored his sternness, commended his integrity, and, with a round majority, gave him a new commission, and sent him back to battle still longer on the ramparts of Freedom. Sir, that event gave a new impulse to the anti-slavery feeling of the North. It formed a new era in its history. It caused that feeling to widen and deepen in the hearts of Northern freemen. It is because Slavery thus attempts to awe and strike down the representatives of freedom, that we oppose its extension and increase. The case of my worthy friend from Ohio is not the only one which the free men and free women of the North have registered in their book of remembrance. No, Sir. They have not forgotten the perilous hour when their tried champion, the venerable gentleman from Massachusetts, (John Quincy Adams,) met that same enemy on this floor. O! Sir, I would that Southern gentlemen could have known how the Northern pulse quickened on that occasion, and with what burning anxiety we waited the arrival of every mail. And at the moment when we looked to see him swept down by the billows of Southern wrath, we saw him triumph in the conflict. He bore himself like an ancient rock in the midst of the ocean, against which wave after wave dashed and broke, leaving him majestic in his victory. Never, Sir, never did such rich and mellow lustre surround the setting sun of that venerable man. Never were Northern hearts so overflowing with affection and gratitude. And when, a few months after that scene, the venerable statesman set out on a quiet and unostentatious tour through the Northern States, he was everywhere greeted with one continued round of heartfelt gratitude. I remember it well. He visited in the vicinity of my own residence. Party prejudices were forgotten, old animosities lost sight of, and one spontaneous burst of affection everywhere marked his journey. Ah, Sir, we loved and honored the man who dared to stand in the breach, and battle for our rights, in the hour of peril. That was another chapter, Mr. Chairman, in the history of anti-slavery feeling.

[Mr. Culver was here again called to order by Mr. Price, of Missouri, for discussing foreign topics; and Mr. McConnell, of Alabama, repeatedly, during Mr. C.'s remarks, interrupted, by calls to order; but the Chair ruled that the remarks were not out of order, and that Mr. C. was entitled to proceed.]

Mr. Chairman, as gentlemen appear uneasy, and my hour is wearing away, I will hasten.

I was alluding to the attempts of Slavery to override the Constitution, here and elsewhere, urging as a reason why I oppose its extension in Texas. If the supporters of Slavery had abided the terms of the compact, and been scrupulous to respect the rights of the North, stipulated in that compact, it would have disarmed its enemies of some of their keenest weapons. But, on this matter, there is a strange monomania in the South. The Constitution is regarded as a compact expressly for *Southern* interests and Southern advantages. They seem unwilling to allow that the North has some rights and immunities, secured by that instrument. Now, Sir, it is time that gentlemen knew there are two sides to the Constitution.

I hold this, in relation to it: when we entered into the great constitutional co-partnership with our Southern neighbors, and became tenants in common of all the territory then reaching from Maine to Georgia, and from the Granite Hills to the Rocky Mountains, the same articles of co-partnership, which *tacitly*, (for, thank God, it is not *expressly*,) permitted Slavery to exist in the South, took special care to give to the North something to keep it in check. The men who framed the Constitution loved freedom, and hated Slavery. They had just come from the fields of the Revolution. They had drunk deep at the gushing spring of Liberty; and hence it was that they would not soil the pages of that instrument by the word "slave" or "slavery;" and yet, for the sake of the compromise, they permitted Slavery to exist, well knowing that its days would be numbered and its duration limited. And when the North hesitated to enter the compact with Slavery, the framers of the Constitution virtually replied to them—True, we negatively tolerate Slavery, but we secure to you in it certain checks and antidotes; these, by their legitimate action, will, in due time, eat out and destroy Slavery. True, it is a grievous evil to be tolerated in the compact, but with it we guarantee to you *freedom of speech, liberty of the press*, and the RIGHT OF PETITION; with the judicious exercise of all these, Slavery cannot long exist. Discussion, experience, and intelligence, will drive it from the land. The North finally entered the compact. Well, Sir, we travelled on in our "joint occupancy" fifty years. But Slavery, instead of retiring, grew with our growth and strengthened with our strength. At length the North began to exercise some of *its* rights. Slavery began to be *discussed* as a great national and moral evil. The press began to speak in tones of rebuke. Petitions began to wend their way to this Capitol. But what was the result? Why, Sir, we were met, *in limine*, by the slave power. We were denied, one and all, the exercise of these rights. Our presses were demolished—discussion interdicted by mobs—our mail bags rifled, and the right of petition denied us on this floor. And we were told by the South that, if we persisted in the exercise of these rights, they would dissolve the Union. Very well. If Slavery cannot abide the compact, then on her head be the consequences of its violation. *We* mean to adhere to the terms of the agreement; and, "while life and breath and being last," we will surrender *no* right secured to us in that compact.

I am aware, Sir, that the utterance of these sentiments may subject me to the appellation of an "Abolitionist." I will put that right. I was not sent here by the "Abolitionists proper." They did not deem me orthodox; they voted for their own candidate, in opposition to me. While, therefore, I might say that I owed them nothing, as a party, yet this floor is not the place whereon to settle controversies with them. I find here a more formidable enemy, which requires all my attention; and against its attacks I will defend "Abolitionists," and all others of my constituents. And while on this point, Mr. Chairman, I beg leave to vindicate the Whigs of my own State from an imputation attempted to be cast upon them, here and elsewhere.

The cry of "*Abolition Whigs*" has been rung upon them. Well, Sir, if I may be allowed to be their humble organ here, I will tell you just how far the charge is true. If opposition to perpetuating Slavery by the unconstitutional acquisition of foreign slave territory; if resistance to the assaults of Slavery, when Slavery leaps its own bounds; if a laudable desire to elevate 14,000 of our citizens, now debarred, solely for their color, to the privileges of the elective franchise; if a generous sympathy for a distinguished citizen of Kentucky, (Cassius M. Clay,) in his noble and constitutional effort to rid his own State of the curse of Slavery; if standing for our rights, as the Constitution settles them, and holding Slavery strictly to the same; if these positions render us obnoxious to the charge of "Whig Abolitionists," then must we plead guilty. But, beyond this, the charge is wantonly false, and put forth for *selfish* and malicious ends. Neither myself, nor the Whigs of my State, ever proposed to go beyond the Constitution to assail Slavery, or to seize unconstitutional weapons with which to fight it. We believe that we understand this matter fully. We act, and shall continue to act, in self-defence. Nay, I will do justice even to the reviled "*Abolitionists*," who seem to be common targets, at which all the artillery, big and *little*, on this floor, is pointed. *They* do not ask Congress, nor propose themselves, to violate the Constitution, in reaching Slavery. They all know that, in the slave States, it is not the subject of direct action of Congress, nor have they desired such an interference. But they *do* claim that, in the Territories and in this District, the action of Congress may be legitimately invoked. They *do* claim that they have the right to discuss, to print, to petition upon the subject, as a great moral and political evil. And so long as this right is denied them, so long will the war wax hotter against Slavery. I am well known, at home and abroad, as not endorsing all their *measures*, deeming some of them ill-advised and unwarrantable; yet the mass of them are honest, patriotic, and intelligent, and they know well whereof they speak. I can assure the honorable gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Bayly,) that there are Quaker women, whose names are on the memorial which he so gallantly moved to-day upon the table, who would put him to his best in a constitutional argument on Slavery in the District and Territories.

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A few words, Mr. Chairman, in defining my position upon Oregon, and I shall have done. [Mr. Houston, of Alabama, here called Mr. Culver to order, insisting that it was not in order to debate that subject on this bill.—But the Chair again ruled that, as the House was now in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, remarks upon Oregon were not out of order.] Mr. C. proceeded I am astonished, Sir, that gentlemen should think me out of order in alluding to Oregon; especially when, in discussing Oregon, for weeks, Texas has again and again been drawn into the debate, and no one thought of calling to order. Moreover, my remarks, of five minutes' duration, will stand in the place of a set speech of one hour, as I have given up all hope of obtaining the floor in the scramble with sixty competitors.

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I therefore say frankly, that our title to that part lying north of the 49th parallel, is not so "clear and indisputable" as it is to the portion south. And had our negotiators effected a settlement on that line in 1818, '24, or '27, the country and the world would have acquiesced in its equity and fairness. And had Mr. Polk adjusted the matter on this basis, in 1845, the country would have been less inclined to have grumbled at the result, than it would have been to have smiled at the sudden evaporation of his inaugural claim. And I say here, Sir, that if honorable negotiation can effect a compromise, substantially on this line, woe to the man who plunges us into a war for that to which our claim is not "clear and unquestionable." I am not saying that we have no *color* of title north of this line, nor that our adversary has a perfect one; but I would say, that our rights there are a fit subject for honorable negotiation.

"As we *have* rights, therefore, in Oregon, I shall vote for the notice, believing its tendency will be, not to provoke war, but quicken negotiation, and produce an amicable adjustment. Embarrassments will but thicken around by every month's delay. The irritated feelings between the two countries is every day rising higher and higher; and unless an adjustment be speedily effected this feeling will place the question beyond the control of negotiation. In its present shape the temptations for political capital are too strong to be resisted by party demagogues. It should, if possible, at once be placed beyond their reach.

Moreover, the notice is not of itself just cause of offence. It is a stipulated right in the Convention of 1827. Great Britain having agreed that we might give it, will not, thereby, have any cause for offence. And if Mr. Polk and his advisers see fit to surround it with offensive embarrassments, provocative of war, on their heads be the consequences. But I do not believe that war will come of it. The respective nations have interests too vast and momentous involved in the issue. The age is too enlightened and peaceful—public sentiment too much advanced in correct views—the matter *really* in dispute too small—to warrant the probability of so direful an event. Besides, one section of this Union is already planting itself in hostility to a war, and that section generally bears sway in the nation. To that section the present Chief Magistrate is known to be closely allied, easily swayed by its counsels, and controlled by its preferences. That section, well knowing the disastrous effects of a war upon its cherished interests, is alarmed at its bare possibility. Yes, Mr. Chairman, the scene has been one a little amusing, to see gentlemen who, twelve months ago, were ready to brave war, dishonor, and disgrace, to grab what did *not* belong to us, now fluttering with the timidity of an affrighted maiden at the bare mention of taking possession of what *does* belong to us. They were loud in shouting responses to the Baltimore compact—"All Oregon and Texas," while that was to gain them a President and Texas; but, these obtained, the compact is repudiated.

I ask my Northern Democratic friends if this is the way their Southern allies fulfil compacts? Have you not been cheated? Is this the reward for your Texas fealty? Would you not have been wise to have kept Texas as a hostage for Oregon a few weeks? Pray, then, profit by experience. Don't be caught a second time. Southern friendship you will find co-extensive with Southern *interests*, and deep as Southern pockets. They want your help on *one* occasion more. They wish your co-operation in striking down the tariff of 1842. Give them this, and let them stave off Oregon, till the deed is consummated, and then, my word for it, the favors you get from them for Oregon, or for any other interest not kindred to their own, will be few and far between. And to that portion of the Southern army who originated and consummated the Texas scheme, and who now hesitate about Oregon—who start back, and cry out, "A lion in the way!"—to you I would say, if war *shall* come, remember that you have aroused the spirit of territorial acquisition, which is now returning to trouble you. You have labored for nine years to wake up a national hatred against Great Britain for her Anti-Slavery movements. That hatred aroused, is now casting heavy embarrassments over negotiation; embarrassments which are hourly multiplying the chances of war. And with the horrors of war floating before you, I should not wonder if your vision rested upon results connected with it. Does it not a little trouble you, when you think of the long line of FREE States that will yet be carved out, stretching three thousand miles west to the Pacific Ocean, coupled with the probability that all CANADA may yet be called in to restore the lost balance of the Union? If your sleep is disturbed by the horrors of war—if the visions of British steamers in your harbors—of your cities in flames—of marshalled "regiments of black troops" in your midst—if these haunt you, and if all these, in due time, shall be realized—point to Texas, and say, this is the price we pay for it, remembering, that He who sits in the circle of the Heavens, and holds the balance in His hands, will mete out justice to nations, as well as to individuals.

Thanking the House for their kind attention at this late hour, and you, Mr. Chairman, for the firm support which you have given me, and tendering my acknowledgments to the gentlemen over the way for the calm and *uninterrupted* manner in which *they* have permitted me to speak, I relieve your patience.

From the Western (Chicago) Citizen.

THEOPOLIS, Feb. 18, 1846.

MR. EASTMAN—*Sir:* You will confer on me and my dear friends, and the friends of suffering humanity, a very great favor by inserting these few lines in the Western Citizen.

I expect I have friends, it may be not a few, and to stop to correspond with them all would prevent me from visiting any of them; so, to expedite business, I take this method to inform them that a captive has returned from Babylon to the land of Judea, (or the land of freedom). I was released on the 30th day of January, 1846, at 12 o'clock. When I left those dreary-looking, massive walls, I did not feel half so happy as I had anticipated; and why? One reason, I was still in a slave State; the other, and the greatest to me, was, my brother Thompson was still left behind, within that degraded place; this was a very severe blow to me, and I think none can think less severe to him, to be left without a friend in so desolate a place. They told me that that day was *Good Friday* to me. So it was. Still I could not rejoice half as I should, if I could have had my companion to come home with me. I felt perfectly willing to give brother Thompson my papers, to come home in my place, but they said that would not do nor could not be. I saw in the city some that appeared to be very friendly to me, and some had long been very much so. I have been almost two weeks in getting home to this place, and owing to the manner of conveyance had a hard time of it. But I feel greatly to rejoice to see the borders of a free State. When in sight of, and when landed at Quincy, I felt disposed, like many a storm-beaten sailor, to shout with a loud voice and joyful heart, "Land ho! land ho!" I hastened to the consecrated spot I left to see my warm-hearted brethren and sisters, and I had a joyful meeting with them, after four years and about six months in prison.

I want my friends, (who are the friends of suffering humanity,) not only to sympathize with me in consequence of my imprisonment, but also in view of the loss of the proper use of my right hand.

My sufferings have been far beyond my powers to express, and I have now only to rejoice that the Lord has brought me out of my trouble, and my almost only remaining anguish now, is, that my brother, who has been a companion of mine about eight years, should be left to toil and suffer behind the walls of adversity, beyond description. But the Lord ruleth in heaven and earth and has a wise plan of his own, and good will come out of it; so let all put their trust in that same God that delivered Daniel and thousands of others from prison and death.

I expect to pass through the States to New-York, for the purpose of visiting my friends, and to give the people an opportunity to manifest their sympathy in our behalf. I say to all, that I feel that I and my friends have great reason to thank God for his goodness to me in a peculiar manner.

The cause of God is advancing, and calls for extra exertion on the part of the true friends of humanity. Freemen, up, and sound the jubilee through earth's wide domain. Yours, with much respect,

JAMES E. BURR.

From the Free Labor Advocate.

THE BRITISH FRIEND.

The number of this paper, dated 1st month 31, 1846, has come to hand. The reader will perceive, by the following extract, why the editors refrain for the present from giving detailed accounts of the proceedings of the London Committee in this country. In this course, I think, they are perfectly correct. We have seen enough to satisfy us of the impropriety of forming a judgment in cases of important controversies by listening to the statements of one party without reference to, and even rejecting what the other party may have to say in its own behalf. And this leads me to observe, with regard to the expression by the editors, of the regret they feel at the denunciations of Anti-Slavery Friends, and others, "reflecting as they do undeservedly on the society in that country," that these reflections were made under the impression that the Committee were acting in strict accordance with the instructions and authority given them by London Yearly Meeting; and this impression was made from the documents they brought over with them from that meeting, and by their own declaration that they were not authorized to pursue any other course than that which they did pursue. Now, if London Yearly Meeting is the representative of the Society in that country, and if it did send over the deputation to sanction the proceedings of Indiana Yearly Meeting in regard to its Anti-Slavery members, and to require us, without any investigation of the case, to dissolve our Society of Anti-Slavery Friends, without any concessions on their part, thus in the most decided manner, condemning us unheard, it will be difficult, I think, to convince us that the reflections which have given the editors so much pain, are "undeserved." We were very far from intending to include all the Friends belonging to London Yearly Meeting in the censure. So far from it, we do not believe the object of the deputation was understood by a portion of the members of the meeting as explained by the Committee, and expressed in the address to us. I am persuaded that the editors did not so understand it, or they never could have entertained the hope—nay, I do not believe they could have desired, that the Committee would succeed in its designs. Now, let me add, that if we shall hereafter be convinced that the Yearly Meeting was misrepresented by the Committee, I have no doubt but Anti-Slavery Friends, and other Abolitionists, will rejoice most heartily in taking back the reflections alluded to:

"THE INDIANA DEPUTATION:—In consequence of urgent requests for information on this subject, we have felt ourselves placed in somewhat of an awkward position.—Whilst anxious to gratify our readers, we are at the same time, equally desirous to do justice to our friends of the deputation, who have, as yet, had no opportunity of speaking for themselves.

"As we have before stated, we have copious details of their proceedings; but they are exclusively furnished by the Anti-Slavery Friends of Indiana, or by that portion of the Abolitionists favorable to their views; both parties being unanimous in denouncing those proceedings.

"It has felt exceedingly painful to us to read these denunciations; reflecting as they do, undeservedly, on the society in this country. Till we know from the deputation what course they have taken, and by what motives or advice they have been guided, it is obviously our duty to wait for their furnishing these particulars; when it will be seen, whether, under the circumstances in which they have been placed, their labors could have led to a more satisfactory result.

"At the date of the latest account we have received, we are glad to learn that our friends were favored to be in good health, and were visiting some of the meetings in the State of Ohio."

From the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter.

It gives us sincere pleasure to announce that his highness, the Muschir Ahmed Bashaw Bey, of Tunis, has completely abolished the system of Slavery throughout the whole of the territories subject to his control. This important event was officially communicated by this enlightened and humane prince to the British consul, Sir Thomas Reade, on the 22d January last, the particulars of which will be found in a preceding page. It will be remembered that his highness commenced this good work several years since; first, by emancipating his own personal slaves; then by destroying the slave markets throughout his dominions; and then by issuing a decree that all children born under his sway from the 8th of December, 1842, should be free. These things he did, to use his own words, "for the glory of mankind, and to distinguish them from the brute creation." The crowning act has at length taken place, and the Bey of Tunis, like the Queen of England, now reigns over a free people.

To Sir Thomas Reade this consummation of his earnest and honorable labors in the cause of suffering and oppressed humanity must be a high reward. We cordially congratulate him on this noble triumph of the anti-slavery cause in northern Africa.

Nor can we forget, on this occasion, another of our countrymen, Mr. James Richardson, who, in the early part of the year 1842, represented, at Tunis, the British and Foreign, and its auxiliary, the Anglo-Maltese, Anti-Slavery Society. That gentleman has subsequently visited Morocco and Tripoli, pleading everywhere the cause of human freedom. Our last news from him is dated Ghadames, on the border of the great desert, the 18th of November, 1845, in which he states "a caravan of forty slaves arrived here the day before yesterday, they were the property of the merchants of this city, and were distributed in twos and threes amongst the inhabitants. They were brought from Ghat by the Touaricks. Some of them were quite children, and were so knocked up when they arrived that they could not walk. The caravan, with which I proceed for Soudan, starts to-morrow afternoon; I go regularly equipped in Moorish dress to prevent curiosity *en route*. With us go some Souf Arabs to purchase slaves for *Algiers!*"

THE COMPLETE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN TUNIS.

TUNIS, 27th January, 1846.

Sir,—In reference to the letter I had the honor to address to you, dated the 28th of April, 1842, which I concluded by assuring the society, that no exertion on my part would ever be wanted, on any occasion which I might have during my residence in this regency, to bring their wishes and desires to a complete and happy conclusion. I beg to state, for the information of the society, that Slavery no longer exists in the Tunisian dominions; and I have only to return my humble thanks to the Almighty, for having enabled me to bring my labors in the cause of humanity to so glorious a result, as the enclosed copy of a letter which I have received from his highness the Bey, with my answer thereto, will fully demonstrate; and to congratulate the society, with its venerable and respected president, "that his highness has been spared to complete the important work which he had so well begun," (as expressed in their address to his highness, dated London, January 7th, 1842,) as well as to hope, which I do most fervently, that the humane and generous conduct of his highness may meet with that universal consideration and applause which it so fully merits.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your most obedient, humble servant,
(Signed) T. READE.

To the secretary of the
British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,
27, New Broad Street, London.

TRANSLATION.

From the servant of God the Musheer Ahmed Basha Bey, prince of the Tunisian dominions.

To our ally, Sir Thomas Reade, Consul General of the British Government at Tunis.

Whereas, our aversion to the thraldom imposed on the human kind, which debases it to the condition of the brute creation is well known to you, having conversed together on this matter.

Our attention has been directed to the repression of this traffic, as well as to its total abolition, with a due regard, however, to the interests of our subjects, so as not to cause them a loss of property.

We commenced first by prohibiting their embarkation for foreign countries as objects of commerce, as we wrote to you on the 9th Rabih 1st, 1257. Subsequent to which we sent orders to places situated on the road of the caravans coming from Ghadames, not to permit any person to enter our territory with any slave as an article of sale; and should any refuse to do so, and not return, the slave should be liberated to his loss; conformably to what we informed you on the 17th Rabih, 1258.

We afterwards abolished the market established for their sale in our capital, (thus giving up the revenue which our Government reaped from it,) declared that all slaves that should enter our kingdom, by land or by sea, should be free; and further ordered, that every one born a slave in our dominions should be considered as free from the very instant of his birth; and that he could neither be sold or bought, as we informed you thereof on the 6th Elkouda, 1258.

Our resolutions were likewise strengthened, and we felt a real satisfaction, at the accord which existed between our sentiments and those expressed by the Anti-Slavery Society, which ennobles itself by upholding the dignity of mankind, in the letter we received on its part, and which we answered on the Rabih 1st, 1258.

This affair never ceased to be the object of our attention, as well as the central point of our consideration; and we have thought proper to publish that we have abolished Slavery in all our dominions, for we consider all slaves existing in our territory as being free; and do not recognize the legality of their being kept as property.

We have sent some notaries to the sanctuary of Sidy Mahrez in town, and to the sanctuary of Ezzawia Elboucaria, in the suburb of Bab Essuika, as well as in that of Sidy Manzour, in the suburb of Bab Elzerzirah, with the object of writing in favor of such slaves as should present themselves to them a document constituting them free on our part, and which document shall be represented to us for the apposition of our seal; and no right of property on their persons shall be alleged by their masters.

We have likewise sent the necessary orders to all the Governors in our Tunisian kingdom; and having determined on writing a circular to all the consuls of friendly Governments in our capital, you shall equally with them receive a copy of such circular. We hasten to forward to you this letter, for you know our sentiments, and what we spake together on the subject.

We thank Providence for the aid it has afforded us in putting an end to this business, which we know is also an object of attention to the great and illustrious British Government; and we pray the Most High that our opinions be always in union with their own in every point. May the Lord keep you under his safe guard.

25 Moharrem Elkram, 1262.
22d January, 1846.

(REPLY.)

TUNIS, January 24, 1846.

Your Highness,—If listening to the admiration created in me by your highness's actions I tried to reproduce it here, my efforts would prove but vain; for, indeed, your highness's actions are beyond description.

Great, noble, is the work which Providence has finally afforded you the means to accomplish in your dominions.

The generosity of your highness's character could not permit that men should suffer where you reign; and, guided by a strong will, your highness has broken down the chains that bound a whole generation of human beings.

Your highness, a lasting glory is surely the fruit, which, together with a recompense from heaven, you will reap from the career you have lately pursued.

On my own part, when I come to reflect on the policy which your highness has followed to gain your point, when I consider the difficulties which must now have hindered your march, and now totally arrested it, I say your policy was the wisest of all policies, for it brought you to where you wished to reach, and induced your subjects to make concessions, which, while they show the degree of civilization they have attained during your highness's reign, prove how much they cherish their ruler.

Knowing the interest which her majesty's Government take in similar matters, your highness has charged me specially to communicate it to them; and permit me to say, that your letter dated Moharrem the 25th, which I shall duly transmit, is the most durable monument that could be raised to your name, not only in England but in the whole world.

May your highness dictate such letters for many, many years. May your actions be a constant object of praise with those who do not flatter; and, your highness, the applause you have already received from her majesty's Government, is the pledge of the expressions which will be directed to you in the name of my most august sovereign on this occasion.

I have the honor to be, &c.
(Signed) T. READE.

From the Christian World.

ADDRESS OF THE IRISH UNITARIAN CHRISTIAN SOCIETY TO THEIR BRETHREN IN AMERICA.

CHRISTIAN FRIENDS:—In forwarding to you the accompanying resolution, which was unanimously adopted by our society, on the 19th of May last, we desire again to address you in that spirit of brotherly kindness, which should attract all the members of the human family, more particularly such portions of it as are united together in the same bonds of Christian fellowship.

Upwards of two years have now elapsed since we sent you our greetings through the Rev. Dr. Gannett, of Boston. These greetings, we regret to say, still remain unacknowledged, and unresponded to, for no other reason that we can assign, but because we made allusion in them to the painful subject of SLAVERY in your States.

Surely, brethren, this is not as it ought to be! Surely your action, as a body, on this momentous subject, is far from consistent with the high and holy vocation of Unitarian Christianity! It is, indeed, we believe true, (and we delight in so believing,) that in the free (or so-called free) States of your Union, none are more active than some Unitarians in zeal for the abolition of Slavery; but we cannot at the same time close our eyes upon a fact, that is to us very distressing, that this holy feeling is by no means universal among you; that great coldness still prevails on this question in your churches; and that, if there be not a positive pro-slavery sentiment prevalent amongst you, there is at least an unmanly, and, as appears to us, an unchristian inclination, to discourage the labors of those who demand, and are striving to obtain equal civil rights for all alike, be their color or complexion what it may.

Brethren, it is vain to imagine that this question of Slavery is one on which it is guiltless to stand neutral and inactive. It is a question, of which you can by no possibility get rid, or so much as cast into the shade. Your country can never assume her true place among the nations of the earth, while this stigma rests upon her escutcheon: she will be but a drag-chain on our common Christianity, till this foul blot shall be erased from her otherwise free institutions.

But, brethren, a recent event which has taken place amongst you, leads us with joy to exchange our language of remonstrance for the voice of heartfelt gratulation. We rejoice, we rejoice with our whole hearts, because of the noble "Protest against Slavery," lately issued by one hundred and seventy-three ministers of our denomination in your land. We congratulate you upon the occurrence, as affording a convincing proof that Unitarians in America are at length becoming sensitively alive to the great sinfulness of holding human beings in slavery. We deeply sympathize with all our brethren who are thus engaged in Christian labors, to "break every chain and let the oppressed go free." We thank them for coming forward on behalf of their outraged fellow-men. We know not how this great question of emancipation for all who are in bonds, is to be brought about in your country; but that it will be accomplished, and at no distant day, we cannot allow ourselves to doubt. And we are anxious that Unitarians, everywhere, should be foremost in the ranks of those who are working for its overthrow. Every Unitarian should be known as an Abolitionist. May those of you who are lukewarm on this question so vital to Christianity, soon shake off your apathy, and may all who feel a deep interest in it, renew their zeal on the altar of freedom, and press forward with increased enthusiasm in her holy cause.

We entreat you, friends and brethren, to go on undauntedly in your glorious cause. Never cease from your labors, until every Unitarian, the world over, shall boldly and honestly proclaim, that CHRISTIANITY HOLDS NO FELLOWSHIP WITH SLAVEHOLDING. Be not satisfied with a declaration of sentiments on this matter, but let every man, who, by holding and buying and selling human beings, acts in violation of his own nature, and of course in opposition to the innate convictions of his soul, feel that he is looked upon as a man who, in the language of the noble protest alluded to, "commits the greatest possible robbery, and the greatest possible wrong."

With sincere desires for the spread of Unitarian Christian opinions, which we believe to be in accordance with the letter and the spirit of our Saviour's Gospel,

We remain, brethren,
Your affectionate friends,

[Signed by order and on behalf of the Irish Unitarian Christian Society,]

DANIEL HUTTON, President.
W. H. DRUMMOND, D. D. } Members
GEO. A. ARMSTRONG, A. B. } of
JAMES HAUGHTON, } Committee.
ROBERT ANDREWS, L. L. D. Secretary.

The following is the resolution referred to in the above Address,—moved by James Haughton, seconded by John Falconer:

"Resolved, That whilst we have perused with hopefulness and gratification, the answer returned by our Unitarian brethren in America, to the address to them from the Unitarian clergy of Great Britain and Ireland, on the subject of negro slavery, we cannot refrain from expressing our regret, that our brethren there have not hitherto answered the address of this society on the same subject, long previously forwarded to them; and as our deep convictions on this momentous question remain unaltered, we consider it to be our duty to renew our appeal to our American brethren, to be unceasing in their exertions to wash out the foul stain which negro slavery has inflicted, and which, so long as it is tolerated, will continue to inflict on their country, and upon themselves,—and that the Committee of this society for the ensuing year, shall be entrusted with the preparation and forwarding of a renewed address, in conformity with this resolution."

CUBA.

By recent advices from Cuba we have been put in possession of a piece of information of a very singular and somewhat startling character. After all the negotiation, trouble, waste of lives, and expenditure of treasure, which the British Government has incurred for the suppression of the Slave-Trade, and the extinguishment of Slavery, we have the remarkable fact that a number of Englishmen, and a very large amount of British capital are employed in the island of Cuba in the encouragement of Slavery and the Slave-Trade. The copper mines of Cuba are superintended by Englishmen, and chiefly worked by English capital, and we find that about five thousand slaves are worked *night and day* in these mines. Their owners receive twelve dollars per month for their hire, besides which they are fed by the employer. What brilliant encouragement for the perpetuation of Slavery; what an exciting stimulus for pushing the Slave-Trade, and securing the enormous revenue of seven hundred and twenty thousand dollars, and all this by the encouragement of British enterprise and British capital! What the Government does, her subjects undo; or in the words of a writer on the same subject, "This notable country builds up with one hand what it is trying to pull down with the other."

No one pretends to question the propriety of the British enactment making the carrying of the Slave-Trade by British subjects piracy. This is a restriction of private enterprise, for the attainment of a glorious and holy object; and general opinion concurs in its propriety and justice. If public interference in a particular description of private undertakings be justifiable in one instance, for a given purpose, it is justifiable in all cases for the same purpose; and we can see no reason why a sweeping enactment should not be passed, declaring it to be illegal for Englishmen to be concerned in undertakings, having for their direct tendency the upholding of Slavery, and the encouragement of the Slave Trade.—Either the penalties annexed to slave carrying by British subjects are unjust, and ought to be abolished, or the British Government will be justified in restraining its subjects, the result of which will be the indirect but inevitable encouragement of slave traffic.—*Jamaica Morning Journal.*

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 26, 1846.

☞ NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS! ☜

ANNUAL MEETING

Of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

THE TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, will be held in the TABERNACLE in the city of NEW-YORK, on TUESDAY, the 12th day of MAY next. Auxiliary Societies are urgently requested to choose their delegates early, and individuals throughout the country to make seasonable preparation to be in attendance. The plan of operations for the ensuing year, which may be marked by the Society, will need the wisdom of a multitude of counsellors for its development. The times demand all our energies.

The BUSINESS MEETINGS of the Society will be held on the afternoon of TUESDAY, and through the whole of WEDNESDAY and THURSDAY, in the MINERVA ROOMS, No. 411 Broadway.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, President.

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN, } Secretaries.
WENDELL PHILLIPS, }

Free Church Presbytery—Good News for Slaveholders.

We have received, through the kindness of some friend abroad, a copy of the (Dundee, Scotland,) "Northern Warder," which contains a report of the February monthly meeting of the Free Church Presbytery. "The place of meeting," says the 'Warder,' "was very much crowded, it being understood that the subject of our relations with the American churches was to be before the Presbytery." That paper also gives a list of near twenty names of clergymen present, with "eleven elders," apparently not worth naming, who seem to have formed as excellent a specimen of a body of pro-slavery priests, as the United Kingdoms, probably, could produce.

The debates were worthy of our own country. They would have done credit to the platform of the A. B. C. F. M. or the Methodist Episcopal Church,—North or South, for there is no difference of any consequence—or the Old School Presbyterian Church. Dundee—for she is not, probably, better than those who have the keeping of her souls—should immediately demand "Annexation." We hope, however, there are enough righteous there to save the city.

Some extracts from the report of the meeting cannot but be interesting to our readers, to show as well the influence exercised in Scotland by our friends Wright, Buffum, and Douglass, as the temporizing and untenable position of the Free Church. She sold herself for a very small price when she sacrificed her independence and her Christian character for the miserable pittance of slaveholders' money; but as she did sell herself, it was all she was worth. But our readers shall judge for themselves:

Mr. Burns said that he had a subject of some importance to bring forward, which would oblige him to trespass on the time of the Presbytery for a little. The matter came in the form of a resolution adopted at a meeting of the Kirk-session of St. Peter's Free Church on Wednesday last, and which, as Moderator, he had been requested to lay before the Presbytery. The resolution was as follows:

"The subject of fellowship with the American churches who receive as members slaveholders, and the sin which attaches to the Free Church for holding such fellowship, having been brought before the meeting, it was unanimously resolved that it is the duty of this church to lift up a decided testimony against the conduct of the American churches, and to withdraw from fellowship with them until they be brought to an acknowledgment and renunciation of their sin; and that this church, in token of their sentiments, take immediate steps to refund the money received from the slaveholding churches: and, further, that the Moderator be requested to lay the foregoing resolution before the first meeting of Presbytery."

Mr. Burns, after declaring that it was with great reluctance that he entered upon this subject, and expressing his disappointment that the whole question was not considered satisfactorily and conclusively settled by the solemn and emphatic judgment of the assembly in May last—time-servers are always hoping that their last solemn and emphatic twaddle is satisfactory and conclusive—proceeded:

Agitators from another land have since been perambulating the country, pouring forth the fiercest invective against the Church of our Fathers, holding it up to the execration and contempt of the populace, and striving with a zeal worthy of a better cause, through this question to deal a blow to an institution which they hate. This movement, I am sorry to say, has met with ardent support from quarters from which other things might have been expected. It has been patronized and promoted by numbers of those very parties who a little while ago were holding out to us the right hand and the warm embrace of Christian union; and they are, I am told, throwing themselves more and more into the movement; and as the result of this united crusade, they have undoubtedly succeeded in awakening a strong sensation among the more ignorant classes, and to some extent unsettling and perplexing the minds of our people.

No one will doubt that Mr. Burns is entirely sincere in deprecating this "foreign interference," and his unwillingness to submit to the harassing demands of "the more ignorant classes" that the Church shall seek purity first and peace afterward. He, however, is forced to make the effort of placing "our position and that of our Church in a clear and just light before the community, and throw back those base aspersions of our adversaries, which require only to be indignantly repelled in order to be silenced and covered with the contempt which they merit;" with what success we shall see. After declaring that none more than the ministers and members of the Free Church view the system of Slavery with "utter and unmingled abhorrence," he proceeds:

I would go farther, and would say, that we can have no sympathy or friendship with the defenders and abettors of that system, and that anything like a relation of friendly intimacy with churches implicated and persisting in these abominations

tionists with whose principles and opinions those of the Free Church better accorded:

"Those who have assumed to themselves, in the United States, the name of Abolitionists—and who, while they have done much good by exposing the evils of Slavery, have also, we fear, done much harm to a good cause by their injudicious and extravagant views and measures—have succeeded to a large extent in propagating in this country the impression, that in America all men are either Abolitionists, in their sense, adopting their views and concurring in their measures, or else approvers and defenders of Slavery. This representation is unfair and injurious. There are in America four pretty distinctly marked grades of opinion and sentiment upon this subject.

"1st. The Abolitionists, technically so called, lay it down as their fundamental principle, that slaveholding is directly and in itself a sin, in the same sense in which murder is a sin, and that every man holding slaves, no matter though they may have come into his possession without any act of his own, and no matter though the civil law of the land may interpose the most serious obstacles in the way of his manumitting them, is *ipso facto*, a thief and a robber, and ought to be regarded and treated as such.

"2d. A large class, while dissenting from this ultra-abolition principle, reckon themselves Anti-Slavery men, because they maintain that the system of Slavery is inconsistent with the natural rights of men, opposed to the moral bearing and general spirit of the Word of God, and injurious to the interests of religion, and on these grounds are anxious to see the system abolished; though they hold themselves precluded by the statements and conduct of the Apostles from regarding mere slaveholding as in every instance, and independently of circumstances, essentially sinful, and on the same grounds believe that the Church of Christ is not called upon to apply the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline to mere slaveholding, or to sacrifice opportunities of preaching the Gospel, and promoting the interest of religion, to agitating the general or abstract question of Slavery. This view is entertained by a very numerous and influential body, comprehending, we believe, the great mass of the clergy in the free States. We confess that we do not see how, consistently with a due regard to Scriptural authority and apostolic example, higher ground than this can be taken on the subject of Slavery; and while we are half tempted to regret that it affords room for some considerations of expediency as to the time and way and manner of setting about the abolition of Slavery, which cowardly and selfish men may misapply and pervert, that is no reason why we should go beyond the line of truth and evidence, and run into the ultra-abolition principle, merely because it is more decided and unequivocal."

Mr. Roxburgh is an apt scholar in the philosophy of "organic sin," as taught by the Board of Foreign Missions. Hear him again:

At what point, then, did the Free Church stop short of the extreme views of the American Abolitionists? It stopped at this point—it hesitated to unchristianize every man holding slaves, simply on the ground of his being a slaveholder, however, they may have come into his possession, however he may treat them, whatever the difficulties in the way of his liberating them. It hesitated to unchurch Christian churches which refuse to proceed to excommunication against every such man. It hesitated to hold those churches responsible for the arrangements of a social condition which neither originated with, nor was continued by them, and from which they could not escape without abandoning their post of duty. A distinction must be made between the sinfulness of a system or institution, and the responsibility of those who, in the providence of God, happened to be placed under that system, without having it in their power to supersede it, or materially to modify it. If there were any prepared to go the length of unchristianizing the slaveholder as such, and unchurching the American churches because they allowed of slave-proprietors in their communion, he would like to know on what grounds of scriptural authority or apostolic example they assumed such a position. Certain he was they derived no countenance from the New Testament. It was known to every one acquainted with the manners and customs of the Greeks and Romans, that the persons addressed as servants in the Epistles were generally slaves. What said the Apostle to them? "Servants, or slaves, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh—knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether it be bond or free. And, ye masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening." Assuredly no ground or sanction for the application of church discipline contended for by the Abolitionists, was to be gathered from the epistle to Philemon in which the apostle earnestly and affectionately entreats Philemon, himself an eminent Christian, to receive back his runaway slave Onesimus, now a sincere convert. Here, under the eye of the Apostle himself, was a Christian slaveholder, together with his Christian slave, dwelling in the communion of the Christian Church together. (Hear, hear.) It was evident from the whole tenor of the New Testament that the Apostles did not set themselves to agitate against the system of Slavery, or any other civil institution. They did not employ the discipline of the Church as a means to accomplish any such end. But the principle of their procedure was this—here are the existing relations and arrangements of society, and our business is, taking these social arrangements as we find them, to teach Christian men, slaves or slaveholders, what are their respective and relative duties in these circumstances, on the principle that civil servitude is not inconsistent with Christian liberty, and that neither is civil lordship over others inconsistent with spiritual subjection to Christ.

After Mr. Roxburgh had finished, and some unimportant remarks were made by one or two other gentlemen, Mr. Lewis rose and said:

I understand, Moderator, that I stand before you today somewhat in the character of a criminal, accused of two very bad things—of having kept bad company—the company of slaveholders; and taken bad money—(a laugh)—even money stained with the guilt of Slavery. Nay, Moderator, it is even reported that with this bad money St. David's Church, and, I believe, my brother's Church of St. John's, has been erected. Before proceeding to the general question, it is right that all should know that whatever churches have benefited by the money contributed by the slave States, not one farthing has gone either to St. David's or St. John's—both churches having been begun and completed, without aid from the general fund, by the contributions of their respective congregations; so that we have no personal or congregational interest in this matter—none of this slave-money having been turned into the stones of St. David's Church. (Laughter.)

Having stated the source of the £3,000 raised in America, he proceeds:

To return these moneys were no hard matter for the Free Church, in the way of sacrifice, but it were inflicting the deepest injury and insult on some of the best men and women in the Union, who mourn and pray over in secret the evils in the midst of which they have been born and bred. It were to wound not, Sir, the enemies, for they are beyond such weapons, but the best friends of emancipation in the South, who are working out, as they best can, the weal of their church and country, and who feel that if they act not prudently, and with a regard to their circumstances, all their means of advancing the cause of emancipation, or any other good cause whatever, will be extinguished. (Applause.)

But to return *all* ill-gotten money it seems would be a "hard matter," as to do right in one thing would involve the moral necessity of doing so in another. Slaveholders' contributions are not the only bad moneys which have gone to the building of "St. David's" and "St. John's."

Do they make inquisition into the original of the gifts poured into their church treasuries? No, Sir! No such thing was ever heard of; no such inquisition ever can or will be made. But I will give you a case in point, a case of conscience, too, which the Americans often put to me—a case very near home. Few things struck me more in the United States, Southern as well as Northern, than the universal temperance and sobriety of the population, white and negro—a marvellous contrast to the loathsome dissipation prevailing in the cities of Scotland. (Hear, hear.) So high, indeed, is the tone of sentiment on this subject, so much higher than in this country, that I was often asked why the churches of Scotland tolerated publicans in their communion—men whom they described as living on the lowest vices of their fellow-creatures, and whose trade flourished on the ruins of the families of the land. I commonly answered that we were not given in Scotland to proscribe men by classes and trades, but dealt with men as individuals—that the trade of the publican, like other trades, had its origin in the real wants of the community; but having grown up out of all reasonable use into an enormous abuse, we trusted the good sense and good feeling of the community would sooner or later abate or extinguish the evil. This was my reply to their demand, to excommunicate wholesale all our publicans, and in that reply I am sure all my brethren concur—(hear, hear)—but what reply could the censors of the Free Church make to the charge of receiving contributions from the 600 publicans of Dundee, whose gains come from so questionable a source—from the vices of the thousand drunkards and tipplers of our town, whose insatiable thirst for strong drink makes Saturday and Sabbath one long debauch, and to whom the pawnbroker and the publican afford every facility for turning of weekly bread and clothing of our families into strong drink. Has there, then, been any movement for a scrutiny into the gifts of the publicans of Dundee in any of its churches? No, Sir! and I venture to say there never will be—neither ought there to be. The Word of God demanded no such inquisitorial scrutiny into the gifts offered on building the Tabernacle or Temple. The conduct of Christ and his Apostles countenance no such odious and impracticable inquisition; and while we teach that every man should be just before he is generous, and pay his debts to justice before his dues to charity, still the practical question, when a man is called to be just, and when to be charitable, is happily not left to me to determine for any but for myself. To his own master let every man stand or fall (Hear, hear.)

We need not remind our readers that the Free Church, in common with all other Evangelical churches, does take upon itself the right and duty to decide what is sin, and never hesitates to make the stringent application of excommunication to all who are guilty of *unpopular* sin. But, however it may be in Scotland, we can assure the Rev. Mr Willis that the class in this country is rapidly increasing who believe we had better have no churches than those built up by drunkard-makers and slaveholders.

The following extract is the closing portion of Mr. Lewis's speech. We need only remark upon it that the Church of Great Britain was not obliged to assume the same position in regard to the Slavery in the West Indies that the churches of the United States have been to Slavery in this country. The circumstances of the two differed *toto cælo*; in the one, Slavery was in their distant colonies, and under the control of the Government of the mother country; in the other it is at their very doors, and not to be reached except through a change in public sentiment. But even were this not the case, it does not follow because we are obliged to resort to different measures,—measures entirely in accordance with the philosophy and discipline of the Church—from those which British Abolitionists advocated, that therefore we are wrong. The Anti-Slavery cause in this country has never been advocated upon higher principles than it was in Great Britain, and, please God, it will be conducted to a more successful termination.—G.

But I must now speak to the subject of Christian fellowship with churches in the slaveholding States. The views of our censors evidently lead to this, that we ought to unchristianize and excommunicate all the churches of the Union, and all their members, while they continue in the sin of Slavery. Now, Sir, I will not enter into the nice and casuistical question, for what amount of sin a church or an individual should be excluded from the communion of the saints on earth, in order to determine on theoretical grounds, whether or not the American churches in the South should cease to be treated as brethren in Christ. That were an endless question. I will take leave to deal more practically with the censors of the Free Church, and again bring the proposed case home to the Scottish churches and Scottish Christians. It is only some fourteen or fifteen years since the British Church and nation washed their hands of Slavery in our West India possessions. What would Christians in Scotland have thought of a decree sent forth by any church or nation, that preceded us by a few years or months in the work of emancipation, cutting off, that is, excommunicating, all the churches of Scotland, until they washed their hands, individually, ecclesiastically, and nationally, of the sin of West India Slavery? With what a storm of ridicule and contempt from the world, and of moral indignation from the best men in Scotland, would such a sentence have been received, and what fatal use would the enemies of emancipation have made of so great an act of folly and presumption against the cause of its friends, instead of pursuing their hallowed cause with affectionate earnestness, and striving by moral means to purify and elevate the tone and sentiments of society, had summarily placed the best men, and the best churches, under the ban, because they did not at once see and renounce a sin in which they and their fathers were born and bred, which God permitted unrebuked in the best of his Old Testament saints, and which, under the New Dispensation, he manifestly left to the progress of the Gospel gradually to remove from the face of the world. Not, Sir, by the weapons of excommunication did John Newton and his friend Wilberforce seek to advance the cause in which they labored forty-five years. They did not thus shut at once the door against all conviction, and turn their good into evil in the hearts of the very men by enlightening and influencing whose conscience they alone carried, in twenty-five years, the abolition of the worst of trades, and in twenty years more, of the worst species of property—property in men's blood and bones. No! John Newton remembered that he himself had been the captain of a slave-trader, even after he had been enlightened by the truth as it is in Jesus, and that he carried out Christian tracts and shackles for his slaves in the same vessel. When God awakened him to the sin of slave-trading, he knew the Christian wisdom wrapt in the beautiful fable of the sun and wind striving which would make the traveller cast aside his cloak. The wind, as it rose, only made him wrap himself the closer, but he opened his breast and unclosed himself to the beams of the sun so soon as the wind ceased, and his rays broke out from under the clouds. (Applause.) He did, in other words, as he would be done by—dealt with men as they were able to bear truth; and remembering his own slowness of moral perception, and his own days of ignorance, he acted very differently towards men coming out of an evil, from men going back to sins which they and their fathers had forsaken, and which had ceased to be the sins of their age or country. (Applause.) In conclusion, I cannot but think that our censors in their late proceedings, if seeking one of the best possible objects, they are seeking it in the worst possible way. The end and the means are at war with each other, if they really aim at gaining the American ear and heart. Is our method or theirs the best method to hasten the doom of Slavery. We open up intercourse with them—exchange offices of brotherly kindness and love—accept their aid in our time of need, in return for aid given to their fathers in their time of need, and at the same time administer that excellent oil of friendly reproof which breaks no head, but softens the heart, and makes way for the truth? But such sentiments as were lately uttered in this town—if the Atlantic voyage they shall ever be spared to make,—can have but one effect, that of shutting the American heart against all access and entrance for other views than already too much prevail. Can any one believe that Jonathan any more than John Bull will be won to a good cause, or weaned from a bad one by such bullying, abuse, and bitterness? They are our descendants, and have Saxon blood in their veins as well as we. Treat them kindly, and with brotherly love, and Jonathan will imitate even while he abuses the institutions and the generous acts of the parent country. Give him time, and the great act of West India emancipation, which he abuses, he will copy in his own way. Let us go on removing all the dark and foul spots that still remain in British society, emancipating what he tauntingly calls our white slaves in mines and factories, regulating their hours of labor, and lifting up our fallen population, and he will yet sing, "England, with all thy faults I love thee still." And though the subject of American emancipation may yet have its ebbs, at each new flood it will be observed to advance higher, and to cover spots before untouched, until, in spite of slaveholding interests, and national fears and jealousies, the moral enthusiasm of America, like that of the parent country in 1834, will rise like the waters of its own mighty Mississippi and sweep away the reproach of the American Union. (Great applause.)

It was then agreed that the resolution of St. Peter's session should lie on the table.

The New Bedford Convention.

An Anti-Slavery Convention for Bristol county, was held at New Bedford, on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, the 20th, 21st, and 22d instant. The meetings were held on the two first days in the spacious and elegant Town Hall, and on Sunday in Liberty Hall. The interest in the meetings, strong from the first, grew stronger and stronger as they proceeded, and gradually increased in numbers from the small band of devoted Abolitionists which organized the Convention, to the dense crowd which filled the Hall on the whole of Sunday, and made it overflow at the last evening's session. Messrs. Garrison, Pillsbury, Remond, Thomas T. Stone, Giles P. Stebbins, Moody, Quincy, and others, were the speakers.

We have not space to detail the progress of the meeting from day to day, through its nine sessions. It is enough to say that ample justice was done to the complicity of the North in the crime of slaveholding, and its greater guilt, as compared with the South, affirmed and maintained. The pro-slavery character of the American Church, at large, was proved by incontestable facts, and the duty of Abolitionists, to come out of all such organizations as give to Slavery the protection of the pulpit and the communion-table, demonstrated by impregnable arguments. The pro-slavery character of the Constitution of the United States, was shown by history and experience, by judicial decisions, and by the consent of the people, and the duty of Abolitionists to refuse to take the oath to support it, or to act or vote under it, as long as it is the chief prop of Slavery, proclaimed and asserted. The whole philosophy of the Anti-Slavery movement was set forth and defended.

Mr. Garrison, with even more than his usual felicity, and with all his usual clearness, showed the folly of men's expecting to reform any wicked institution, by remaining in it and supporting it, and answered the excuses by which the Third party seek to reconcile their political action under the Constitution with their professions of an Anti-Slavery character, in the most convincing and effective manner. He also exhibited the present tame and servile attitude of Massachusetts, since the Annexation of Texas, as presented by the conduct of the Legislature, in a most masterly manner. Mr. Pillsbury, and Mr. Stebbins, developed the ecclesiastical aspect of the cause and the duty of Abolitionists in this respect. Mr. Stone, of whom we shall speak at another time, touched at various times, on all the various topics discussed, and adorned all that he touched, with the simple earnestness of his eloquence, the logical strength of his reasoning, and the scholar-like beauty of his expression. Mr. Remond, also, gave utterance to the views and feelings which the Constitution of the United States suggests to the colored man, in his usual fervid and impressive style of oratory. Mr. Stebbins made his first appearance before a Massachusetts audience, who were rejoiced to see and hear one, of whose fidelity and able service, they had so long known by report.

The attendance was uniformly numerous, (after the first morning's session, which was only held to organize the meeting,) and crowded in the evenings. On Sunday, and especially on Sunday evening, the large hall was not large enough to contain the throng that overflowed it. The audiences were of the most attentive sort, and we were assured, included many persons never seen before in an Anti-Slavery meeting. The most radical positions of the Abolitionists were expressed and defended, and the most odious truths plainly uttered in their ears. And yet it was all listened to with patience and respectful attention. The very same doctrines, the utterance of which we had seen excite tumult and disorder in those very halls, in former years, were now heard with seriousness, and even with applause. We could not but regard this circumstance as one of the happiest augury. It was a proof that we had succeeded in making a lodgment in the minds of the people, and that they were now willing to consider truths which not long since they thrust from them as fanatical and treasonable.

I have attended many meetings in New Bedford before, but never one that seemed to me to prove so satisfactorily the progress our cause has made. There have been more stirring and tumultuous meetings, when the Abolitionists were endeavoring to discern their duty as to Church and State, and when the lewder sort came in to enjoy the sport, and to find occasion for riot. But this was one of the very occasions to obtain which we had gone through all that experience, and contested those hard-fought fields. We had settled our doctrine and method among ourselves, there was no diversity of opinion as to the tactics of our warfare, and we were once more face to face with Slavery and pro-slavery proper. And there we had large and attentive audiences, ready and willing to hear all that we had to lay before them. It was an occasion justly suggestive of hope and encouragement, and I believe it made an impression on the minds of those present, of no transitory nature.

It is needless to say that the homes and the hearts of the Abolitionists of New Bedford were opened to their Anti-Slavery guests with the warmest hospitality. The social intercourse thus produced, was not only pleasant to the souls of those who enjoyed it, but it was made profitable to the cause. A word spoken in season at the fireside is often effectual, when a public speech fails to impress the heart. In public and in private, in the public assembly, and in the private circle, it was an occasion of the most satisfactory and encouraging character. May there be many such!—G.

Charles T. Torrey.

We learn incidentally that the efforts to procure a pardon for poor Torrey, from the Governor of Maryland, have been unsuccessful. The Governor, we understand, refused first to pardon until a recommendation was procured from the Court that sentenced him, and this having been gained, he then demanded further, that a petition should be presented, signed by the slaveholding members of the Legislature. Even this, also, was procured, but the Governor was not yet satisfied, and refused till he could consult with the Grand Jury of Prince George's county. It would seem from this shuffling course of the Governor, and his evident desire to evade the question, that he dare not brave public opinion by the exercise of the pardoning power in Torrey's case. The petitions and all propositions have been withdrawn. Our informant states further, that Torrey's chance of recovery is very doubtful. Unless the Governor speedily relents, death will open the prison-doors to the captive.

EMANCIPATION IN TUNIS.—We copy the articles, in another column, on emancipation in Tunis, from the London Anti-Slavery Reporter. They would seem to render it certain that the Bey of Tunis has abolished Slavery absolutely in his dominions. As we have not the date of the extract from a Malta paper which we published a few weeks since—and which we received from a friend in England—we do not know how far that account militates with this. If there is any deception about the matter,—if the Bey of Tunis has *not* abolished Slavery, but is only trying to palm himself off as a Christian and a Democrat, according to the standard of the United States, the world ought to know it. It would be the duty, we think, of the Government of the United States, to take his highness in hand, and put him down as an insufferable humbug, and therefore an invader of the reserved national rights of this Republic.

☞ We have received, recently, several complaints from our subscribers that their papers do not reach them. We can assure them all that the fault is not at this office. The papers are regularly and carefully mailed, or sent off by package, and when they are not received, investigation should be made at the offices of reception.

☞ The New-York Colonization Society have resolved to charter a vessel, to send immediately with food and clothing to Monrovia, for the relief of the captives of the "Pons." The plan is a good one, but would be better still if they would use their vessel in transporting the poor creatures to their homes. It would be a truly humane and noble act, even if sister Wilkins's school be the loser.

☞ ROBERT C. MARSHALL, *Hiram, Portage county, Ohio*, is an agent from this date, for the Standard, and is authorized to procure subscribers and receive subscription-money.

Recent Publications.

History of the English Revolution of 1640, *commonly called the Great Rebellion; from the accession of Charles the First to his death. By F. Guizot, the Prime Minister of France; &c. &c. Translated by William Hazlitt.* New-York, D. Appleton & Co. 1846.

It is just twenty years since the original edition of this work was published in Paris; it is wrong, therefore, to say that it is by F. Guizot, *the Prime Minister*, &c. for, at the time he wrote it he could not have anticipated ever being Prime Minister, unless it were a *prime* minister of the Gospel, and if he had written it while Prime Minister, it might have been very different from what it is. As a record of historical events it is well enough, but, as a reading book, it is dry and cold compared with the picturesque elucidations of the same subject just published by Carlyle. We have another fault to find with the title, "The English Revolution *Commonly* called the Great Rebellion." It was very justly called a rebellion, and should always be so called, a Revolution would not have ended in a Restoration. A much greater Revolution has just taken place in England than that which forms the subject of this history; a real revolution of principles, not a change of Governors. It is of little importance to the people who govern, when they are governed; whether Charles, or Cromwell drive them to war can matter nothing; the ill-paid laborer, the maimed soldier, the sailor's orphan, are alike wretched, whether made so by a King or a Congress; the thing is all, not the cause. Sir Robert Peel is a genuine revolutionizer; he has consented, since he could not prevent it, to let trade, in a certain degree, govern itself by its own laws; and in so doing has given to history a fixed fact of infinitely greater importance than the mere a-Cheever-ment of putting a poor imbecile fellow-creature to death, which M. Guizot insists upon calling a Revolution.—B.

The Farmer's Dictionary: A Vocabulary of technical terms recently introduced into Agriculture and Horticulture from various sources, and also a Compendium of Practical Farming: The latter chiefly from the works of Rev. W. L. Rham, London, Low and Youatt, and the most eminent American Authors. Edited by O. P. Gardner, M. D. with numerous illustrations. New-York, Harper & Brother's, 82 Cliff street, 1846.

If we have a grateful feeling for any earthly blessing, it is for the privilege of spending part of our time surrounded by cultivated fields and primitive forests, where, when we look out of our windows the eye can rest upon something more delightful than brick houses or crowded omnibuses, and when we wake in the morning, a concert more ravishing than any ever listened to by gas-light salutes our ears; the crowing of cocks, the lowing of cattle, the bleating of lambs, and, in a few days more back will come our Orioles, bob-a-links, and blue-birds. If we were confined to paved streets and brick houses, we would never pray for length of days. Such being our feelings, it may be supposed that a book like this, which is all that its copious title indicates, meets with a hearty welcome. There is a flavor of new hay in its leaves, and we fancy that we smell apple blossoms as we turn them over. There is a story in Josephus of somebody who read a dictionary through, and said he could make nothing of the story. But nobody will make this complaint of the Farmer's Dictionary. It contains a story of nature, that all who read will understand. To those who cultivate the soil, and whose means do not reach to such works as those of Stephens, London, Downing, or who cannot comprehend Sprague, Boussingault, Liebig, &c. it will prove a treasure. It is an exceedingly neat volume of 900 pages, well printed, and copiously illustrated with good wood-cuts. If every farmer should purchase it, who needs it, the Farmer's Dictionary would be the most popular book published for a hundred years. B.

Jessie's Flirtations. By the author of "Kate in Search of a Husband." No. 76. Library of Select Novels. Harper & Brothers.

This is an American copy-right novel, by a popular writer, and we wish it well, as we do all American books which deserve good wishes, but we are incompetent to give an opinion of its merits. Booksellers are fond of quoting newspaper verdicts in literary trials, but the opinion of a newspaper which has the audacity to express so outre and altogether unpopular an idea as that Slavery is a great sin, a curse, and a disgrace to the people who tolerate it, cannot be worth quoting; therefore it would hardly be worth while to read a book against our inclination for the sake of calling it a delightfully charming work, or a charmingly delightful one, which we find are the novel judgments most often quoted, for nobody would have the imprudence to give us credit for our industry and ingenuity.—B.

The Wigwam and the Cabin. By W. Gilmore Simms. Second Series. New-York and London. Wiley & Putnam.

This is an admirable title for a very characteristic collection of tales illustrating, to a certain extent, the peculiarities of plantation-life in the slave States. If Mr. Simms would confine his labors entirely to this kind of composition he would soon rank as an American author, whose books are read; but his attempts at the historical novel have created unfavorable opinions of his powers. No Southern author has condescended to give us pictures of Southern life, excepting Mr. Simms, and if we at the North, who feel ourselves bound to denounce the system of negro slavery, are not allowed to examine Southern manners for ourselves, without the risk of returning home with a load of tar-and-feathers, we should not be blamed if our views of things south of Mason and Dixon's line are somewhat distorted; for we have no reliable medium of observation. The neat little volume before us contains two plantation sketches: "The Lazy Crow, a story of the corn-field," and "Cologa; or the Loves of the Driver," (the slave-driver.) These two sketches contain many characteristic traits of plantation-life, and are well written, excepting a tendency to wordiness, which is a peculiarity of Southern writers. Slaves and Indians are the only romantic materials left in our nation, and we have often wondered that Southern writers should trouble themselves and their readers with the events and personages of history, in composing their tales, when they have such an abundance of fresh materials at their very doors.

"Those old Lanes," an unmeaning title to one of the sketches in the Wigwam and Cabin, is a very poor imitation of the Harry Lorrequer tribe of English magazine writers, but the "Lazy Crow" is a life-like, indigenous sketch, and we regret that the whole volume was not composed of similar things. Mr. Simms is by no means backward in the exhibition of his sectional prejudices, and we like him the better for it. Everything at the South, even the blackenesses upon the plantations, is *couleur de rose*, but everything at the North is placed within an umbrage. A planter is a scholar and a gentleman; but a Yankee is a pedlar and a knave. We have no doubt that he and Mr. McDuffie honestly believe that there are manufactories of horn gun-flints and wooden cucumber seed in Connecticut, and that the young ladies who work in the Lowell mills and contribute essays to the "Offering," would be very glad to exchange places with the Dinahs and Junos who hoe corn and pick cotton on Carolina plantations; and we believe also that the Emperor of China honestly thinks that his dominions include everything that is desirable on the globe. But, honesty we hold to be an indifferent offset for ignorance.—B.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign.

Twenty-two Days Later from Europe.

The steamer Hibernia arrived at Boston on Thursday of last week, but the news by her was received here some hours earlier than it otherwise would have been by an Express from Halifax run by the Tribune and some other daily papers of this city and Philadelphia. The Express was less than forty-seven hours from Halifax to this city, and the news was taken south twenty-four hours in advance of the mail.

Sir Robert Peel's Tariff Bill will no doubt pass in the House of Commons. On the 24th ultimo, on a motion to bring in a bill—a test question—the vote was 337 in the affirmative, to 240 in the negative. The debate on the motion was continued through twelve nights, and was very earnest.

Among the speakers for the bill were Peel, Russell, Sir James Graham, Lord Morpeth, Sir Geo. Clarke, Messrs Cobden, Bright, Villiers, Goulburn, and Sydney Herbert. The most prominent opponent of the measure was D'Israeli, the author of "Vivian Grey," "Coningsby," &c. Sir Robert Peel gave the reasons for his change of policy, which he bases in good part on the prevailing scarcity of food in Great Britain.

The European Times says: "Still it is doubtful whether the repeal of the Corn-Laws will be immediate. On Monday night Mr. Villiers moved, in committee, for the immediate repeal of the duties on corn, instead of the repeal three years hence, enforcing his position cleverly by proof, that the present time was the best adapted for the interest of the agriculturalist; that now he could better compete with his foreign rival, when wheat was scarce and dear in all parts of the world, instead of three years hence, when it might possibly be cheap and plentiful. The debate stood adjourned until the following night, and at the time we write—on the evening of Tuesday—we are unacquainted with the result. It is just possible, if the morning papers are expressed to Liverpool to-day, that the division may arrive here an hour or two before the sailing of the packet, and thus cross the Atlantic with the *European Times*; but we are not ubiquitous, and in the absence of advices from our London representative at this late hour, we are in the dark as to the result.—In all probability, however, the sense of the House will be against Mr. Villiers, as Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel think it impolitic, on the score of success, to depart from the scheme as originally propounded. The minister would be delighted to be left in a minority, but the landlords, there is every reason to apprehend, making the best of what they consider a bad bargain, will hold him to his three years' term, and divide with him against the immediate repealers. All depends upon the landlords for the Free Traders in the House are not numerically strong enough to beat the Ministerialists, the Whigs and the Protectionists. But nothing in their previous tactics can lead us to hope that the latter will exercise a generous and dignified liberality on this occasion.

From India, we have advices of a great battle, or rather a two day's struggle, between the Sikhs of the Punjaub, and the British army, which terminated in the defeat of the Sikhs, after a most tremendous slaughter. The British loss is some 3,300, the Sikhs some 30,000.

The health of Daniel O'Connell is said to be failing. Wilmer & Smith's Times says:

He has attained the allotted duration of human life: but, if all the accounts which appear be true, is not destined long to exceed it. Those who see him nightly in the House of Commons declare that he is sinking fast, and that the last twelve months have added thirty years' load to his existence.

He enters and leaves the House on the arm of his son John; and, once or twice when he essayed to speak, his voice was so feeble that he could scarcely be heard in the reporters' gallery. This appears to be the winding up of a career which will always stand out despite its imperfections, as one of the most remarkable in the history of the British nation.

The affairs of Ireland are absorbed in the contemplation of the great Free Trade drama which is now being acted in England. Mr. O'Connell is in London, and the management of the Repeal Association is confided to his lieutenant, Mr. Smith O'Brien. A bill introduced into the House of Lords, the object of which is to render life and property more secure in the sister country, has met with a good deal of opposition, and much angry recrimination.

There is no news of any great moment from the continent. France still maintains her independent attitude toward the United States, and shows no disposition to be schooled by the United States. A correspondent of the European Times says:

Yet it is certain the United States have only themselves to thank for it—Mr. Polk's address has done it all. Admitting that France made a blunder in the Texan business, it could not be supposed that she would tamely submit to be rated for it in a President's Message. A great and glorious nation like France should not be snubbed like a schoolboy, even when decidedly wrong. In returning Mr. Polk's blows she has struck harder than was expected, and she has taken an attitude which *hereafter* may be of immense gravity to the United States. It is a pity, a great pity, that she should have been forced into it, especially at a period when war is not altogether impossible between the States and Britain.

The Flogging Ordinance.—This ordinance is exciting the deepest indignation among the emancipated classes in British Guiana. It has passed through two of its stages, and was expected to pass through its last when the mail left. With the exception of the Government paper, the *Royal Gazette*, it is condemned both as impolitic and unnecessary. *Emery's Journal*, of the 17th January, speaks of it in the following terms:—

"The danger of suffering a Legislature, not amenable to the people, to exercise uncontrolled functions, has been wonderfully exemplified in the history of what is termed 'The Thirty-nine Stripes' Act.' An old law existed, by which the punishment of forty lashes, save one, could be inflicted, for petty crimes, by the inferior criminal court, composed of a sheriff, a gentleman not legally educated, and three or four other gentlemen, the proprietors or factors of estates. Very properly, this provision of the law, so strongly calculated to lead to tyranny on one hand, and the revival of the most odious reminiscences of the slave-time on the other, was permitted to fall into disuse. Nay, the Secretary of State would not allow even the supreme court to carry out so degrading an infliction. In an evil hour, the Governor and court of policy, designing to augment the jurisdiction of the inferior criminal court, projected the re-enactment of the lashing clause, accompanying it with a clause authorizing the same petty tribunal to exact a pecuniary fine of £20, and to order banishment to the penal settlement for six months.

"If ever human beings, white, black, or brown, had a right to remonstrate, the mass of our population was entitled to do so in this instance. It was not a question of the indiscriminate extension of a franchise. On the contrary, the more ignorant a peasant was, the more imminent was his liability to stripes and transportation. Meetings of peasants, whose intelligence would astound an absentee, meetings, be it observed, confined to a small district of the colony, have sufficed to prove that the emancipated African, as he can be no longer bought and sold, can be no longer oppressed with impunity. The determination of the several convocations has been, to appeal from the Governor, in whom confidence is no longer reposed, to the monarch herself."

The *Congregational Record*, and the *Instructor*, are loud in their condemnation of this law; and even the *Guiana Times* swells the number of its opponents. The *Record* earnestly exhorts the people to control their feelings and confine themselves to remonstrance and petition. At the same time it entreats the legislators of the colony not to try the people too far "by laws whose natural tendency is to create and give impetus to discontent and revenge." The *Instructor* says, "the plantocracy of Guiana wish to bring back a state of things here that shall be as nearly as possible like the state of accursed SLAVERY, from which the African race in this colony, no thanks, however, to the plantocrats, have been permitted to escape." The cry of all the friends of good government is "REFORM," and truly it is needed in the colony of British Guiana.

ST. LUCIA.—REFUGEES.—Five refugees, from Martinique slavery, arrived here safely on the 26th of December, having outwitted and outsailed their pursuers, who, soon after their landing on our wharf, appeared at the offing, in an armed schooner.—*Palladium, January* 3.

General Items.

The Rhode Island and Massachusetts Boundary.—The long-pending case in the Supreme Court of the United States, on the petition of the State of Rhode Island for a ratification of the northern boundary of that State, by carrying it five miles farther north, into the State of Massachusetts, was decided on the 4th instant, in favor of Massachusetts. The opinion of the Court was delivered by Mr. Justice McLean. The grounds of the decision we have not yet seen stated. They may, however, be pretty safely inferred, we suppose, from the defence which was relied on by the State of Massachusetts.

The claim of Rhode Island, had it prevailed, would have dismembered this State of the whole or a principal part of six valuable towns, viz: Wrentham, Bellingham, Blackstone, Uxbridge, Douglass, Mendon, and of a part of Franklin; and it would have disturbed a possession of that part of territory which has been enjoyed by the Colony, Province, and State of Massachusetts for a period of 196 years, under a line actually traced, by persons appointed for the purpose, in 1642, and since that time repeatedly renewed. The claim of Rhode Island was founded on an alleged erroneous construction of the Charter of Massachusetts, (which is of anterior date to that of Rhode Island,) from that by which the actual line was determined. The ambiguity of the language of the Charter has led to repeated discussions as to its proper interpretation. The present decision, we presume, will put the question at rest, so far at least as to secure so ancient an adjudication of it from being disturbed. It is, moreover, as we believe, in conformity with the true intent and meaning of the Charter, and it conforms with the construction given to it in the settlement of the southern boundary of this State, where it adjoins upon Connecticut, although there is a slight variance of a part of a mile in favor of Connecticut, in the actual boundary of the latter, arising not from a difference of construction of the Charter, but from a variance in the practical delineation and establishment of it.—*Boston Advertiser.*

The Recent Freshets.—Great damage to property has been sustained on the Hudson, Susquehannah, Delaware, Merrimack, and Ohio rivers. At Buffalo the effects have been most disastrous. The loss of life on board the steamers, and canal, has been considerable. It is stated that at that city alone, $100,000 worth of property has been destroyed.

Salt River.—We understand the ice is entirely cleared out of this river, so that our radical Slavery friends have been able to reach their destination at the head without either accident or delay. A Whiz friend at our elbow, who has just come down, says rents there have risen, within the last ten days, full fifty per cent.; even old tenements which have not been occupied for years, are being fitted up for the flood of strangers daily arriving. We are glad to hear that the most determined efforts are making to accommodate all who may need quarters there. We hope our friends, who have gone up, will find themselves well situated to remain as long at least as their predecessors, the Whigs, remained in the same quarters. They should remember that "a rolling stone gathers no moss;" and that any attempt to return at present, will only be paid with disappointment and expense. Be easy, Messrs. Old Hunkers—enjoy yourselves as best you may—bide your time, and rest in the faith that "your children may see a better land."—*Independent Democrat.*

Mexico—Interesting.—News from Vera Cruz down to the 23d ultimo, was received last night at the Department of State. Almonte had resigned the office of Minister of War, and Tornel had been appointed his successor. Lucas Blaman, the editor of the new royalist journal at Mexico, (the Tiempo,) had been compelled by public indignation to fly from the city, his life being in danger, and his paper had been pronounced seditious. Since the royalist party had taken open ground in favor of monarchy, the Mexican people have become much better inclined toward the United States. Upon the whole, our affairs with Mexico were assuming a more hopeful aspect.—*Washington Union.*

NOTICES.

BOSTON FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The next quarterly meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, will be held on Wednesday afternoon, April 8th, at 3 o'clock, at the house of Mr. Bramhall, No. 21, Edinboro' street.

The Boston Anti-Slavery Social Circle, in aid of the next Fair, will meet with them at the same time and place. A full attendance of the members is requested.

S. H. SOUTHWICK,
Recording Secretary.

HAMILTON LYCEUM.

Dr. J. McCune Smith will lecture before the Hamilton Lyceum, on Thursday evening, March 26, in the Hall, 512 Broadway.

Subject—"Civilization," &c.

TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Dear Friends: At the late annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, measures were adopted to sustain a number of able and devoted lecturers in this State, during the present year. One (Parker Pillsbury) is already in the field. Several others will soon enter. It is desirable so to arrange their labors in connection with other anti-slavery agencies, as to accomplish the greatest amount of good. Of these, the quarterly meetings of the county societies may be justly regarded as among the most efficient.

It is now proposed to the friends in the several counties, to hold their quarterly meetings in the following order, as nearly at regular intervals as may be, throughout the year, viz:

Norfolk,	Thursday,	April	2
Plymouth,	Wednesday,	"	15
Middlesex,	Tuesday,	"	28
Essex,	Saturday,	May	9
Middlesex,	"	"	23
Worcester North,	Thursday	June	4
Worcester South,	Wednesday,	"	17
Norfolk,	Tuesday,	"	30
Bristol,	Wednesday,	July	15
Plymouth,	First of August celebration.		
Essex,	Thursday	August	13
Middlesex,	Wednesday,	"	26
Worcester North,	Tuesday,	Sept,	8
Worcester South,	Tuesday,	"	22
Norfolk,	Tuesday,	Oct.	6
Bristol,

Poetry.

For the Standard.

THE CAPTIVE OF CAMALU.*

BY PRINGLE.

O Camalu—green Camalu!
'Twas there I fed my father's flock,
Beside the mount where cedars threw
At dawn their shadows fr m the rock;
There tended I my father's flock
Along the grassy-margined rills,
Or chased the bounding boatehok
With hound and spear among the hills.

Green Camalu! methinks I view
The lilies in thy meadows growing;
I see thy waters bright and blue
Beneath the pale-leaved willows flowing;
I hear along the valleys lowing,
The heifers wending to the fold,
And *jocund* herd-boys, loudly blowing
The horn, to mimic hunters bold.

Methinks I see the unboba-tree
That shades the village chieftain's cot;
The evening smoke curls lovingly
Above that calm and pleasant spot.
My father? Ha! I had forgot—
The old man rests in slumber deep;
My mother? Ay! she answers not—
Her heart is hushed in dreamless sleep.

My brothers, too—green Camalu,
Repose they by thy quiet tide?
Ay! there they sleep—where white men slew,
And left them—lying side by side.
No pity had those men of pride,
They fired the huts above the dying!
White bones bestrew that valley wide—
I wish that mine were with them lying.

I envy you, by Camalu,
Ye wild-bears on the woody hills;
Though tigers there their prey pursue,
And vultures slake in blood their bills,
The heart may strive with Nature's ills,
To Nature's common doom resigned;
Death the frail body only kills—
But thraldom brutifies the mind.

Oh, wretched fate!—heart desolate,
A captive in the spoiler's hand,
To serve the tyrant whom I hate—
To crouch beneath his proud command.
Upon my flesh to bear his brand—
His blows, his bitter scorn to bide!—
Would God, I in my native land
Had with my slaughtered brothers died!

Ye mountains blue of Camalu,
Where once I fed my father's flock,
Though desolation dwells with you,
And Amakosa's heart is broke,
Yet, spite of chains, these limbs that mock,
My homeless heart to you doth fly—
As flies the wild dove to the rock,
To hide its wounded breast—and die!

Yet e'er my spirit wings its flight
Unto death's silent shadowy clime,
Utiko! Lord of life and light,
Who, high above the clouds of Time,
Calm sittest where yon hosts sublime
Of stars wheel round thy bright abode,
Oh, let my cry unto thee climb,
Of every race the Father—God!

I ask not judgments from thy hand—
Destroying hail or parching drought,
Or locust-swarms to waste the land,
Or Pestilence by famine brought;
I say the prayer Jakanauf taught,
Who wept for Amakosa's wrongs—
"Thy kingdom come—thy will be wrought—
For unto Thee all power belongs."

Thy kingdom come! Let light and grace
Throughout all lands in triumph go;
Till pride and strife to love give place,
And blood and tears forget to flow;
Till Europe mourn for Afric's wo,
And o'er the deep her arms extend
To lift her where she lieth low—
And prove, indeed, her Christian friend!

*Camalu is a glen at the source of the Kat river. The "Captive of Camalu" is supposed to express the feelings of some of those Caffres and Ghonaquas converted by the Missionary Williams, who, after the devastating wars of 1818, 1819, were forced to become bondmen among the Boors, or imprisoned in Robber Island.—See Phillips's Researches, pp. 190—192.

† The Caffre name for Dr. Vanderkemp.

Miscellany.

MARIE;
OR
Slavery in the United States.

BY GUSTAVE DE BEAUMONT.

Author of Travels in Ireland; and, in conjunction with de Tocqueville, of "Penitentiary System of the United States."

(Translated for the Standard.)

CHAPTER XVI.—(IN CONTINUATION.)

"George!" repeated the Indian, looking narrowly at me—"George! the most courageous, the most unfortunate of men!—"

Not understanding these mysterious words, I entreated Mohawtan to explain. After a momentary pause, he proceeded:

"An insurrection has long been in contemplation among the black population of the South. When the negroes of Virginia, and the two Carolinas learned that the churches of the colored people had been burned, in New-York, the news was a signal for revolt. A vast plot was in agitation, of which the central point was to be at Raleigh, in North Carolina A month only had passed, since the cruel persecution of the Cherokees, in consequence of which so many had gone into exile. Such of our tribe as had not emigrated from Georgia, did not hesitate to second the movements of the negroes. I was of the number, and one of the chiefs of the tribe. The Indians had their rendezvous in the neighborhood of Raleigh, in order to concert their plans for the insurrection with the leaders. A council was held, and the extermination of our enemies was resolved upon.

"It was agreed that, on a signal to be given during the night, the field-negroes should rush from their cabins, bearing terror and death to the habitations of their masters; while the Indians, in a body, should make a descent upon Raleigh, and thus take possession of the town, and its militia.

"The appointed day approached, but there was not a good understanding among the leaders. Each aspired to command and considered the obscure part of obedience to be quite unworthy of him. Alas! the respect our fathers paid to the old and wise is not felt due to them by us. While these things were in agitation, George arrived from New-York, where he had been engaged in defending the people of color. His name recalled to our minds all his father's services. We welcomed him as a friend; and the nobleness of his mien, the elevation of his sentiments, the superiority of his mind, struck us all. He listened to our projects, and consented to put himself at our head.

"'My natural place,' said he, 'would be among the men of color; but I am too happy to command warriors like you, to decline the honor: besides, it is for the common cause of liberty, against tyranny, that we fight. Let me add, also, that, though the vengeance contemplated by my brethren, cruel as it may seem, is perfectly legitimate, I prefer to take my revenge upon mine enemy by the sword rather than the poignard.'

"At the appointed hour, in the middle of the night, the flames of a conflagration, lighted on the highest spot of the surrounding country, gave the appointed signal. But, strange to relate, the negroes, for whose benefit the insurrection was to take place, and who had been seen the evening before, full of generous ardor, remained inactive. Whether it were stupidity or fear, these wretches, groaning under the weight of the heaviest oppression, made not an effort to be free. They performed nothing that they had promised, and not a white was massacred upon the plantations.

"The Indians, meanwhile, were faithful to their engagements. At the appointed hour, George gave the order to our troop to march upon Raleigh. But we were, doubtless, betrayed; for, hardly had we quitted the forest which borders the road, when we met a body of militia, of twenty times our number. We instantly engaged with them notwithstanding the inferiority of our force. But how shall I describe George's valor! Alas! did so much heroism merit so sad a fate!"

Here Mohawtan stopped. His emotion was great; and I saw that the North American Indian is *not* a man without a tear. I understood his weeping, and the silence that preceded it. He related to me George's exploits—his intrepidity—his boldness—his desperate exertions. "The son of Nelson," he continued, "seeing that he must yield to numbers, called aloud to me—'dear friend, save your life! But hold! Take this letter for my father; and if you ever again behold him, bear to him the farewell of his son.' Having said this, he seemed animated with new ardor:—he had recognized, in the melée, his mortal foe. I heard him shout,—'Fernando! Cowardly assassin of my mother! Die!—I am avenged!' Alas, a fatal blow prevented his vengeance."

Here the Indian stopped. As for me, I listened, in that state of stupor into which we are thrown by a fresh misfortune, when the measure of our wo is already full. Mohawtan went on thus: "I strove to avenge the death of so dear a friend, but I was alone against a host,—it was requisite to fly. Hardly had I made my escape sure, when I cast a glance behind me to the spot where I had beheld George for the last time; but I could distinguish nothing. At this moment the moon arose, showing her disc of a bloody red. Then I saw that it was a fatal night. I learned, next morning, the shameful inaction of the negroes. The Governor of North Carolina issued a proclamation, to announce the triumph of the militia over the Indians, boasting, at the same time, of the excelling conduct of the negroes, and directing severe measures against us. Then the remains of our tribe determined to leave their native region; and, when informed of our plans, the United States Government eagerly seconded them. All it wanted, was our lands, and it even provided an agent to expedite our retreat. Following the same route taken by the first emigration of our tribe, we went first to Pittsburg, then to Buffalo; and there we learned the previous visit of our compatriots, their interview with Nelson, and his embarkation with them for Michigan.

"At Detroit we learned that they had gone up the Saginaw. We wished to follow by the same way, but we were told that the navigation would be slow and difficult, and so we have reached Saginaw by land. Friend, (Mohawtan went on, taking my hand, as he spoke,) fear nothing from my tribe: the daughter of Nelson is here. What aid does she need? Speak—command us—each one of us will obey you."

This recital had thrown me into inexpressible trouble. George, the brother of Marie—George, my own dearest friend, was no more!

"Stay," said Mohawtan,—"take what George confided to my care, at his last hour;" and the Indian delivered to me the paper, which bore the address of Nelson.

I was penetrated with grief; still I accepted the generous offer of the Indian chief, praying him to aid me in finishing our cabin. In an instant the arm of every Cherokee was placed at my disposal. I told them what to do, and then returned to Marie, bearing one sorrow more into our wretched dwelling.

I strove with all my might to conceal my anguish. I told Marie of the kindness of the Indians, who were at work for us; and I never quitted her for a single instant. Three days passed, during which she seemed to regain a little strength. The next day we might expect Onasco;—with him, the medical succor so much desired; and Mohawtan had come, joyfully announcing to me that one day more would suffice to finish our dwelling.

Thus, in the midst of desolation, I still looked towards the path of hope,

But, towards the close of this fortunate day, the sky seemed loaded with thick vapors;—though not a breeze stirred, the pine-tops rustled with an unwonted sound;—a heavy atmosphere weighed down the forest, and while a gloomy silence brooded over the earth, one might hear strange sounds in the upper air. All announced a storm.

I was seated by the pillow of Marie, endeavoring to relieve her sufferings by the testimony of my love. I spoke of our future happiness;—she remained long silent, but at length, making a sign for me to listen, she spoke thus, in a calm and resigned voice: "My friend, deceive yourself no longer. This illness under which I suffer is mortal. Remember the hour of our arrival; at that moment, when the moon rose, fiery red, like a bloody phantom, I was seized with a pain which has never since left me. It is this which consumes me, and nothing can stay it. Such is the decision of destiny, and it is folly to doubt it. I, a poor colored girl, despised, debased, degraded by public contempt, aspired (strange wandering of my reason!) to the greatest happiness ever vouchsafed to a human being! As if the shame of my birth must not necessarily follow me to the grave! Ah, very severe is my expiation! My friend," she went on, "how cruelly I have suffered during these last days. You see how weak and exhausted I am. It is because I can get no rest. How distressing is it not to be able to sleep! Sometimes it seems as if slumber was about to take possession of my senses, and then I abandon myself to it, invoke its approach, and bless its protecting hand; already half my being seems to belong to it, and the other half is yielding to its power: but, at the instant that I am about to ease myself in rest, a sharp, but indescribable pain suddenly arouses me."

"My God!" I cried, as I listened to this sad recital,—"I saw your sufferings, but Oh, my beloved, how far was I from perceiving how great they were! Why have you so long concealed this from me?"

"Alas! my friend," replied Marie,—"how could I resolve to plunge you into despair by asking aid which you had not to give! Yes—I feel life ebbing from me; but I declare to you, Ludovic, that all my physical sufferings are nothing in comparison with the torture of soul that I experience. My great suffering lies in seeing the hope of happiness which I have felt so near, abandon me:—in giving up forever a hope so vain and yet so dear: and then, the sorrow which transcends all others in my heart—the sight of the depth of misery to which my dark destiny reduces you. Ludovic! pardon me for speaking thus. It is because so soon——"

She ceased; I saw her expression change, and her eyes began to wander, and then suddenly fix themselves; then, extreme agitation having succeeded to this moment of calm, thought returned to her but to be overpowed by the delusions of delirium.

While this heart-rending scene overwhelmed my soul with stupor and despair, I heard, without, the first sounds of the tempest;—distant mutterings, at first feeble but increasing by degrees, announced the coming storm. Already the winds blew with violence, and the tops of the forest oaks begun to murmur upon their moveless trunks.

Marie, meanwhile, regained consciousness; and, half rising as she spoke, "Listen to me, Ludovic!" she said, with a strong and assured voice. "I have just had a dream, and doubtless it was sent of God. Before the return of Onasco I shall be no more.—Heaven gives me a momentary strength—let me speak to you of my far-distant loved ones. My father! George! Alas, I am very unfortunate! I shall not receive my father's blessing! The day of his arrival was to have been that of our union; and when he beholds his poor child——Ah, let him know that she died worthy of him—irreproachable even to her last sigh. I would speak, too, of George. Why is it, Ludovic, that for two days you have not mentioned him? We are ignorant of his fate:—alas, I do not believe it a happy one! His heart is so good! his soul so great! He remains among those wretches who hate us. Indulge my weakness, my dear friend, but when I dream of him, my visions are of bloodshed. My good brother! he loved me so tenderly!—the only human being who has loved me like thou, Ludovic. He knew your goodness, yet, my friend, leave me this illusion, which is very dear to me—I think the affection that you inspired him with, had not been so great but for your love for me. Alas! will he be happier than his sister? I must die, far from him—but you, perchance, may again behold him; and when he speaks to you of his dear Marie, tell him that we wept together as we thought of him. Give him my Bible; we have often read together its consolations and its promises to the afflicted. Its leaves contain some flowers that I gathered on the prairie, the day of my enchanting dream of happiness. Their precious perfume has become pure through the fragrance of the holy book. Say to him as you give this last token of my remembrance, that religion is the sole support that cannot be taken away from the wretched."

"And you, Oh, best-beloved," she continued, turning towards me, and making me a sign to place my hand in her own; "What shall I leave to you, in memory of me? Alas! nothing but sorrow! Why should I impose on you such sad remembrances! Alas! our attachment will only recall to you the memory of uncompensated anguish! For me you sacrificed the world—its advantages—its pleasures. If I had only had a few years—a few days only, to surround your life with devoted tenderness, and to merit your compassion by the might of my love!—Oh, my friend—it could not be! I have given you only bitter sorrow, from the day when, by the discovery of my birth, I cast on you the reflexion of my own shame, until this overpowering moment, when I grieve you with the sight of my last agonies.

"But must my ill-fortune follow you when I shall be no more. Ah, beware the influence of my destiny. My memory will be fatal to you. To be happy, you must forget me."

She paused a few moments; then casting upon me a look of the deepest solicitude, she continued:

"Dear friend, you will find me very weak, before my last hour;—and I beseech you, tell me once more that you tenderly love me, and grant me pardon! I entreat, as an act of grace, these assurances of your love, that otherwise I had not asked for. You see why I ask for them now,—because I am about to die. Yet a few moments, and my life will weigh heavily on yours no longer; and I would die listening to your voice telling me of your love. The thought gives me strength for the terrible passage from life to death. You see me weak, exhausted, consumed; but do you feel, Ludovic, that thy heart has lost nothing of its power to love! Yet a little more indulgence for your poor friend! Come near me! My God! I afflict you," (she said, seeing my tears flow,) "but yet a little longer have pity, for it is but a little time longer that I shall give you pain. Rest my head upon your bosom, that I may hear again the beating of your heart. Thus we passed the river of the prairie together;—and were not you also then as blest as I? Oh, now you must tell me of your forgiveness! pardon, dear friend, pardon for the poor girl who loved you! I must confess to you what I have always kept hidden from you till now—I loved you the first day I saw you. My heart sustained many conflicts, I fled from the look and presence that enchanted me; and the revelation of your love overwhelming me with the hope of so much happiness, was almost too much for my reason to bear. But I looked to the dark side, and I wept over my joy."

From Douglass Gerrold's Shilling Magazine.

THE MISSION OF THE PRESS.

To arrive at the true source of the hostility between the bar and the press, we must follow, through some of its ramifications, the mission of the latter. Every man is now aware that there is both a natural and a political system of society. The former grows from the laws of man's being, the latter is the offspring of conquest; and such as we now know it to be to our cost, it is the consequence of a great original wrong. Of the political system the bar is an essential part; of the natural system the press is a portion.

It is possible to trace the bar with all its privileges; its exclusive right to plead before the judges; its establishment as a separate profession; its monopoly, and even its wigs and gowns, up to some statute or some regulation, which the judges and the benchers, by the authority of law, were empowered to make. So it is possible to trace the rise of the royal navy and the profession of a naval officer—from the first general requisition of Ethelred on all the lands of the kingdom to form a fleet, through successive statutes and regulations levying taxes for its support, or empowering its officers to seize men for its service—to the last and yet unfulfilled regulation for weeding its muster-roll of those pensioners the aristocracy has encumbered it with. But the newspaper press was not established by law. Like cultivating the ground, it springs from the wants of man, and is essential to the development of society. The authors of the political system have continually endeavored, by sharp libel laws and by various restrictions to impede the extension of the press, and limit its usefulness; but no enactment of theirs, neither the common nor the statute law, called it into being.

Accordingly, under one form or another, large, liberal, and world-ranging, like the metropolitan journals, or narrow, cramped, and strictly local or technical, like the little bits of coarse dingy paper that are tolerated by the despots of Germany, newspapers now exist in all the countries, however different their political institutions, of the civilized world. The Sepoys have newspapers; the Russians cannot do without them; they are published in Turkey and China; and they have already taken their station as part of society at New Zealand and the Sandwich Islands. They are most useful, most comprehensive, most numerous, and most sought after, as in the United States, England, and France, where natural society is most, and political society least, developed. They are valued most where man is most free. A newspaper is a power at New-York; it is next to a nullity at Berlin. Thus, the bar and the press in their origin are parts of hostile and contending systems; the latter is essential to civilization, and increases in strength, as society throws off the trammels of that system to which the bar belongs.

The mission or duty of the farmer in the natural order of society is to produce as much food as he can at the least cost. So the mission of the manufacturer is to make clothing or cutlery abundant and cheap. What in the same order of society is the mission of the newspaper writer? While the bar has for its object to perplex, confound, and mystify, in order to keep other men in political thraldom, the press seeks to make all things straight and clear, and free man from all shackles, but those of reason. Even the journals which support an erroneous system, do it solely by an appeal to that power. The press collects facts; it winnows the mental productions of each day and every people, and hoards up the useful results. It watches for events, it gathers information from every quarter, and spreads it to the same extent. It warns the world against threatening dangers as they arise. It catches the first light of every dawning improvement, and brings it before every inquisitive and admiring eye. The true mission of the press, its very soul, is to gather and diffuse truth. That is its solemn duty; and remembering how small a portion of a daily journal is composed of questionable matter, we have no hesitation in saying that to a great extent it actually performs that duty.

We are well aware that a contradictory opinion is afloat in society. People habitually toast the freedom of the press, and declare that it is like the air they breathe—if they have it not they die: nevertheless, there exists amongst them a slight dread and a practical contempt for the object of their theoretic love; and seizing hold of little discrepancies—the ten thousandth part of its daily contents—they also habitually speak of the lying press. Gathering information from all quarters, being open to the complaints of the lowest man in the community, and the highest employing it to communicate his views to mankind, representing all classes, their passions and prejudices, as well as their reason, it is, in common with everything human—liable to error, and occasionally circulates falsehoods and calumnies. That, however, is the exception, not the rule. Every newspaper writer acknowledges his responsibility to scrutinize every paragraph, to separate the truth from the falsehood, the good from the evil, to promote good only, and circulate only truth. He is morally and solemnly pledged to society to perform that duty, and the confidence which is now universally placed in the bulk of all the statements of newspapers proves that it is in general duly and honorably performed.

When unreflecting persons speak inconsiderately of "the lying press," they must have some standard of comparison which is infinitely more truth-telling. The bar, which notoriously hires out its tongue, like church-bells, to sound any tune, supplies no such standard. Nor does any class of men in their private intercourse. Traders in their dealings, men and women of fashion in their polite communications, surgeons and physicians, and notorious teeth-drawers, to soothe or beguile their patients, with almost every other class, indulge in a license of assertion which finds no counterpart in the newspaper press. Throughout society, anecdotes are put into circulation and readily pass from mouth to mouth which no newspaper would publish. We will say nothing of pulpit discourses but this, that the authors of them, nearly one and all, are pledged, *à priori*, to thirty-nine Articles, to Confessions of Faith, to bodies of doctrines, which they have never, scrupulously and unbiased, subjected to examination; and the probability therefore is, that they far less abound in truth than the daily statements of newspapers, which are within every man's comprehension, and open to daily refutation. We must, however, say of literature in general, including scientific treatises, as well as works of acknowledged fiction, with elaborate theories of heaven and earth, and man and animals, that the writing in newspapers contrasts favorably with that as to its truth or falsehood. The newspaper writer continually looks out for facts, and he is continually checked and kept obedient to them by a great multitude of critics. He cannot and dare not indulge, for long periods, in the dreams of imagination. A writer in his closet, who does not bring his lucubrations to the test of day till his volume is completed, and who has gone on, uninfluenced perhaps by facts, in the ruts he and others have worn, is more likely to be in error, and persist in error, than the author of leading articles in a daily newspaper. His party bias, his prejudices and passions, are generally avowed and guarded against, partly by himself and partly by others. Even when he is pledged to an erroneous system, or bound up with a faction, he deals in a great measure with facts, and pretends to diffuse truth. Thus we have seen the monopolist *Standard*, and *Herald*, by qualifying a hasty and unguarded statement of the apostle of free trade, become the expounder of a partial truth, in defence of an erroneous system against the champion of one of the holiest causes that ever engaged the attention of mankind. Looking through society it must be affirmed that nowhere, in the practices of mankind, can a standard be found, in comparison to which the press deserves the epithet of lying.

On the contrary, because the press is on the whole truth-telling wherever it predominates in society, sober truth-telling will be the habit of the people. All barbarous tribes, at all times, have indulged imagination without restraint, or been addicted to lying. The very act of putting pen to paper induces thought and consideration. The slow progress of written composition gives more time for deliberation than spoken language, and a nation of writers will necessarily be more guarded and more correct in its assertions than a nation of speakers. An orator spouts his first crude reflections; a writer can purge and mend his words to be a correct expression of his thoughts. He may have something to conceal, but it is in general to the satisfaction of his enemy that a cunning man writes a book, and preserves a record of himself which may be a witness against him. That he puts his words into a permanent form is, therefore, a check to deceit when a writer wishes to deceive. All necessary communications between man and man are cleansed from grossness and inaccuracy by the filtration of the press. To speak like a book is to speak well, correctly, with good manners, and with truth. To write in that manner is the daily habit of writers for the press; and where they are numerous, where the readers of daily papers are the bulk of society, to speak like a book will be the habit of the people. Falsehood is more common in Ireland, where the influence of the press is of modern origin, and as yet comparatively feebler than in England, where it is far more extensive, and has been longer established. Newspapers in fact practically create that high criterion of truthfulness by which their contents are tested and sometimes condemned.

The press is freer than any other profession to express opinion; it is unfettered by any theory; it is not bound by bribes nor emolument to uphold any system; it is pledged to no creed; it can follow truth wherever it leads. Being dependent on society, it respects the opinions, feelings, and creeds of every class, and would be ashamed of the anathemas which sometimes resound from pulpits; it inculcates toleration by its precepts and by its example, and is not unfrequently condemned by rabid theologians and heated enthusiasts, because it will not depart from its respect for existing opinions. It will not sustain the exaggerated pretensions of any party, and by the ultras of every party its very virtues are thus made a reproach to it. The press has more time to scrutinize, and is more cool to judge of affairs than those who are plunged into the vortex of politics. At the same time it has no means of enforcing its views; it is not backed by bayonets; it can neither dragoon men into submission, nor subdue them by spiritual terrors. Thus, there is enforced on it a respect for reason and a love of justice, as well as a regard for truth, that forbearance, that toleration, that respect for others, which are proper in all, are imperatively and especially required from the press. Its members unite most of the functions of the Levites, except bearing the sword: they teach and they heal, but they are guiltless of using any kind of physical violence. To the ministers of the law—to the members of the bar—they leave the odious task of inflicting penalties, even to death, and of planting evil in the vain hope that good will grow from its root.

The mission of the press, and its origin in the natural system of society, while the bar originates in the political system, supplies a clear explanation of the cause of their mutual hostility. The present temporary quarrel is a mere symptom of the permanent opposition. No class is more imbued with feelings of animosity towards the press than the legal profession. The judges, generally speaking, as well as the barristers, seldom lose an opportunity to have a fling at the newspapers: seldom, too, do they neglect to trounce them, and inflict on them fines and imprisonment, when they have the power. They fear the press, and are always anxious to curb its tongue. Swollen into mock dignity by a corporate monopoly and a share of the privileges of the aristocracy, they submit only to professional rules, and practically set at naught responsibility to society. At the same time they persist in treating all the business of life and all the rights of men according to their own antique and uncouth fashion. They know that addresses to the crown to remove a judge and impeachments are out of date; they know that the bulk of mankind, submissive to their spells, humbly acquiesce in their usurpations. Only now and then some spirited individual impugns a judgment or attacks a legal argument in a newspaper. Only the newspapers, acknowledging in reason a higher power than law, criticise and condemn the proceedings of both barristers and judges. The legal profession is placed on the confines of responsibility, and the press grapples with it and holds it within the limits. It is daily made to feel its dependency, and vainly tries to escape from subjection to society and the press. The whole legal profession has an instinctive abhorrence of the press, and tries to degrade the power it cannot resist. The two bodies are the antipodes of each other. The one is the champion of reason, the other lives on political superstition. Between them there is permanent discord, and the present quarrel is of that only a symptom.

In the end, the bar will be defeated, and we warn it against the inequality of the contest. The power of the press is as boundless as that of society. It reaches the throne—it is welcomed in the cottage. It can pull down injustice, however lofty, and raise up lowliness, however deep. It castigates crimes which the law cannot reach, and prevents those which the law can only punish, without repressing them. Wherever an eye can see and a hand can write there is the press. Persons in tribulation rely on it for redress, and they feel sure that wrong will not go unpunished if it be known to the journals. Like light, it penetrates into every nook and cranny of society, and carries help and healing on its beams. It nips rising abuses in the bud. It stops the tide of tyranny when setting in full flood. It derives its vast power from the principle of its being. Seeking out truth, and representing reason, it concentrates on one point the whole moral power of society, and persuades and governs, without violence, by the mere knowledge that the physical power of society is always ready to vindicate the right. As it comes into full operation, the course of society becomes uniform and equal, and its ends are obtained without those convulsions and rebellions, by which a rude unlettered people make their will known.

This is the real mission, and these are the high functions of the press. We do not affirm that they are always fulfilled. It is of comparatively modern origin; and those who are devoted to it are scarcely sensible of its vast power, and do not assume all its dignity. The actual press does not reach ideal excellence. Those who conduct it belong to the industrious classes, and must live by their labor. They share in all the evils which still cling to us from conquest having made a slave of the laborer. The degradation heaped on useful industry in the olden times leaves its brand on it still. The do-nothings, deriving their titles and their wealth from a plundering ancestry, on whom, worthless as they are, they are a great improvement, are, in the political system, the ennobled and the honored classes. Whoever lives by his labor must, to some extent, be subservient to those who possess the property of society, and have inherited usurped political power. The members of the press, being in that predicament, too frequently give up to party what is meant for mankind. They forget that catholic unity which is the characteristic of society, and make themselves the servants of class interests instead of the general welfare.

Like everything human, the press has its imperfections and abuses. Religion has its popes, and the press has its proprietors; men who use it for personal aggrandizement, and to attain political dignities by purchasing and betraying the guardianship of society. Both religion and the press have been perverted into instruments of ambition; and as that was made the means of debasing instead of ennobling mankind, so this is sometimes used by its party, masters, and proprietors, to concoct fraud and disseminate falsehood. It is then as bad as a hired soldier, who fights, not for right, but for pay. Like barristers, it takes fees to maintain the wrong: but while that is their essential characteristic,—the rule of their conduct: in the press it is a departure from the principle of its existence. It is a pollution to be deplored, and by all means got rid of. When the press takes fees like the barristers, when domineered over by party leaders, or perverted by proprietors, it is then indeed degraded to the level of a cunning priesthood or the insincere bar.

But with all its present imperfections and faults, the press is acceptable to society at large. No man except an oppressor likes to have anything to do with a lawyer, and he uses him only as a tool which it is unpleasant to handle. No man is willingly without a newspaper. Paley thought the rough disorder of English freedom, the want of courtesy which is the national characteristic, and all the evils of warm political discussion, cheaply purchased by the amusement and instruction of a newspaper. Cowper describes it as:—

"This folio of *four* pages, happy work
Which not e'en critics criticise; that holds,
Inquisitive attention while I read
Fast bound in chains of silence, which the fair,
Though eloquent themselves, yet fear to break;
What is it but a map of busy life,—
Its fluctuation and its vast concerns!"

But the folio of four pages has now swelled to a folio of eight pages, sixteen pages, and even twenty pages. Locomotion has scarcely improved more than newspapers since Cowper wrote, and is not more subservient than they are to the general welfare. Every man looks daily for his newspaper. Were the judges to abdicate, and the courts to suspend their functions, no man would at once miss and regret them, except for the loss of a column of amusement in the newspaper; but the day and the hour when the postman, "with his twanging horn," "the herald of a noisy world," or the mail train leaving its great bags of almost a ton weight of letters, should go to its destination without newspapers, would be full of consternation. We cannot picture the general alarm, the fidgetty uneasiness of the merchant looking for accounts of the arrival of his ships, or of the state of the markets, on which his whole daily business is dependent; and the fright of the timid owner of public securities, or of the well-paid functionaries of the Government,—which would spend itself into innumerable conjectures as to what commotion could have laid an embargo on the newspaper. For the mail to arrive without the journals, would be like the approach of day followed by no rising sun. Whenever the fact is alluded to, every man becomes instantly sensible that society could not exist in its present wonderful ramifications without newspapers. They are not merely the offspring of the natural system of society, they are essential parts of it, which will outlive the throne and the peerage.

From Gerrold's Shilling Magazine.

THE HEDGEHOG LETTERS.

Containing the opinions and adventures of Juniper Hedgehog, cabman, London; and written to his relatives and acquaintance, in various parts of the world.

To Ebenezer Prune, Grocer and General Dealer, of the town of Numskull.

DEAR EBENEZER:—Your letter came to hand. There was no fear of that. No letter that showed a man to be a fool, ever yet miscarried. And a pretty noodle your bit of foolscap paints you. What! you 're glad we 're going to have out the militia? You 're delighted to find we 've so much blood in us? Blood, indeed; what business has any decent Christian man with blood, unless in the way of black puddings?

Well, at your time of life, I didn't think you could have had the pipe-clay fever so strong upon you! And yet it only makes out a notion of mine. You may begin with boys and lads, and teach them what 's right and straight,—but its plaguey hard to take the twist and crank out of you respectable, middle-aged Solomons that *will* be fools, and still think you 're so very wise, only because you 're fools with a grave face. You say, the whole town of Numskull is ripe for war. Is it? 'Twould serve it right just to have one morning's relish of it. The Mayor, you say, is very hot for glory, and the Mayoress and her daughters dying to see the whole town in regimentals. If the thing could be done, I should like to have Numskull besieged, and the Mayor's house particularly well peppered. 'Twould be a nice holyday, a capital sight for the rest of all England. I think I could arrange a very pretty day's amusement.

Let me see: we will begin about seven o'clock in the morning. The Mayor is yet in his bed, lying on his back, twiddling his thumbs, and counting over his virtues. Whiz—bang—crash! A shell—fired by the Yankee Wholehog artillery—(they landed last night from the *Cashdown*, Pennsylvania frigate)—falls through the roof—through floor and floor—carries away, never minding the Mayoress's screams, half the state tester, leaving the Mayor and his wife unhurt,—but still falling through dining-room and parlor,—and, intent upon doing its worst, descending into the cellar, and finally dropping into a pipe of the very best beeswing port, just going to be bottled. Now, this bomb we 'll suppose to be the first sugar-plum of war!

The Mayor jumps out of bed, thinking of his money-box, his plate, his bonds, his pipe of port, and his wife and daughters. The lady Mayoress screams like—no, I can 't think of nothing stronger—like a woman! And then her five daughters, all in their bed-gowns and curl-papers, rushing in, scream, too, to show the tenderness and the weakness of their womanhood. Now, Ebenezer, arn 't all these creatures pretty hypocrites? I mean what I say—and I 'll prove it.

Bless their little satisfied souls! how they love the military, to be sure! What a beautiful thing is a review to 'em—isn 't it? And how they 'll smile upon cannon-balls, as if they were things to eat—and how they 'll wink their precious eyes in the breast-plates of the dear officers, more than if they stared in their own looking-glasses! And then, in their little puffed-up hearts, they think no more of a man than of a barn-door fowl, if he isn 't a soldier. But only put a feather in his cap—red cloth and gold lace on his body—roll him tight round with a sash, (the babe of glory!)—and let a long sword dangle by his side—and to woman's heart, what a dear peacock the sweet fellow is! She could follow him all over the world; his feathers are so fine, and he does strut so beautifully! And in this way, Ebenezer, do women, again and again make themselves parties to war and wickedness! In their hearts, to be sure, they don 't mean it. They 'll faint, some of 'em, to see a cut finger; but then a review only shows the frippery of war—without the blood. The music 's beautiful, and there 's no call then for lint.

Sometimes, Ebenezer, we hear of plans to raise women in what they call the social scale. I 've no objection, I 'm sure; and should very well like to see the plan tried. Nevertheless, I *do* think, when I reflect upon the mischiefs of war,—I do think that woman might give man a lift. But then she is such an odd, contradictory thing! Else, at once, she 'd set her precious face against cutting throats, and wouldn 't think slaughter a bit the better, because done by nice young men in red coats, with colors flying, and trumpets braying.

(By-the-bye, Ebenezer, when I think of what the trumpet really does,—how it sets man upon man—and makes blood burn against blood—braying seems a capital word for it. Isn 't it odd, too—and there 's some meaning in it, depend on 't—that a trumpet and a jackass, are the only things that bray?)

Now, here 's a chance for women, Ebenezer! If they 'd only follow the example of my cousin Johanna! (What a member of Parliament that girl would have made!) She was going to be married to Samson Cream, a young man in the perfumery line. They were so near it, that if the ring wasn 't bought, they 'd often (through the windows) looked at it. Well, he 's very bad with this militia disease—this scarlet fever—and in the pride of his powder-puff heart, told Johanna that he 'd no doubt he should be a corporal. Wherefore, the girl at once told him, that he must either give up all thoughts of pipe-clay or of her—that she 'd never take a cartridge-box to her arms—and when she married, would, by no means, have a husband with feathers. So if Samson won 't consent to moult, he loses Johanna. The girl 's only a maid-of-all-work—but may my mare break her knees again, if she isn 't a pattern for countesses. I 'm sure of it: if the women were resolutely to take the matter in hand, they might put an end to war all over the world. And they ought to do it: 'twould be the prettiest feather in the prettiest cap they could wear—*that* feather they might sport to their honor and glory. But I contend that it 's women's own work—what they call her "mission," if properly understood. Let me explain.

Here 's a baby born. A little, helpless, crying thing that 's made a love of from the first minute—and bringing, who shall say, what a heap of love with it? Well, the pretty little animal is carefully swaddled, and powdered, and all sorts of care taken of it—the thing becoming in a very little time such a treasure, that the Bank of England wouldn 't be taken for it. And this thing—that there 's been such fear and such hope about, and such a lot of love—with its first tooth, and its measles, and its running alone—and its teaching it to kneel upon mother's lap and say the Belief and the Lord's Prayer.—this blessed thing has only been begotten, and born, and nursed, and taught, to be cut in two with a broad-sword, or blown to pieces with cannon-shot. Is it Christian-like—is it even sensible—to beget children to do and suffer such devils' work? Depend upon it, if women knew their dignity, as it 's called—they wouldn 't suffer it. No: they 'd think better of what they were meant for, and wouldn 't bear children for bayonets and bullets. Some of these days, Ebenezer, they may think of these things; but at present, a woman will run after gunpowder, just as puss will run after valerian.

But let me come back—for I 've wandered a long way—to the siege of Numskull, just to let you see the beauties of war. Well, the Mayor, and his wife and daughters, are all embracing one another in the bed-room, when bang comes another shell, and blows away Maria, and Louisa, (young pretty things, that never did harm to anybody,) into the next world. Bang—bang—fall the shells! Crash goes the house, and the Mayor and his wife, and three daughters, scramble down stairs, and hide in the cellar!

Now, Mr. Mayor was a great man for war, and all its glory. Yes! when full of his best port, he would give his favorite toast—"A speedy war and soon!" And wherefore? The purple-faced old ass knew nothing of war but its outside finery. The regimental band, the fifes and drums, made him feel as strong as Samson—but then he 'd never had bomb-shells drop through his house, and his helpless children slaughtered under his eyes. How very differently does he now—squatted low, like a toadstool in a cellar—think of war! How does he groan, and shake, and in his misery tear his grey hair,—as he hears the hell of war roaring about him—and listens to the yells and shouts of men, like devils escaped from the burning pit, to work destruction! And now—bang—bang—his house is burst open—half the regiment of the Pennsylvania rifles flock in—Pillage, pillage, is the cry—they tear from room to room—they descend into the cellar—they stave in pipes and hogsheads—they seize the Mayor's three daughters—and (could he ever have thought it?) *now* is he grateful that Maria and Louisa, in sudden death, met a better fate. Well, the poor Mayor makes a rush at one of the heroes, when his brains are knocked out by the but-end of a musket, and the "glory" continues.

But I know your answer to this. You say, "we never suffered all this. The rascally enemy can 't come to Numskull to do this wickedness—*we* are safe!" *Why*, you stony-hearted ruffian,—forgive me, for a minute, Ebenezer—is the atrocity any the less because *you* don 't suffer it—is it a bit better because you send out men to do all this, and endure none of the horror yourself? But so it is, Ebenezer; you, and such noodles as you, roar about the glory of war, because you 've only seen a review—have only looked upon the fine glossy skin of the tiger, and have never felt its teeth and claws. True it is, you 've paid taxes: and certainly, it is thought bad enough to bleed at the pocket; but, after all, 'tis not *quite* so bad as to bleed yourself, or see your wife or children bleeding, on the bayonet. Purse-strings *are* delicate; but, somehow or the other, heart-strings carry it.

And therefore, Ebenezer, let me hear no more of your cock-a-doodle-do-ing about the splendor of war, and the grandeur of the militia. If you want to punish your fellow-creatures, ar 'nt you a grocer and a general dealer, and can 't you be satisfied?

There 's short-weight, adulteration, passing-off bad money,—fifty ways for you to delight the devil with; but don 't treat him to the morsel of all that he best loves—war—wicked—stupid war!

And with this, I am your best friend,

JUNIPER HEDGEHOG.

NEW LEBANON